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Editor: R. Palme Dutt

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Forty Years On: R.P.D.
This Wonderful 'Free World': R. PAGE ARNOT
Are Dockers Decasualised?: W. LINDLEY
Political Cases: D. N. PRITT, Q.C.
Problems of Peace Work: IVOR MONTAGU
The Housing Bill Fraud: TOM VERNON
Fuel Policy Madness: MICK McGAHEY

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GREETINGS FROM: Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; John Berger; Fenner Brockway, M.P.; Sir Richard Coppock; Dr. Y. M. Dadoo; Michael Foot, M.P.; Ted Hill; Otto Kuusinen; Liu Ning-yi; Sir Compton Mackenzie; Dr. Kwame Nkrumah; Will Paynter; Sir Charles Snow; Hannen Swaffer; Maurice Thorez; Palmiro Togliatti; and many others.

JULY 1961

One Shilling and Sixpence

SPECIAL ENLARGED 40TH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

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DEAR FRIEND . . .

THIS IS an Open Letter to a reader who found a way to be present at our 40th Birthday Party in London although he lives thousands of miles away. How! a third man in space? No. By what other miracle of modern science, then? Merely the miracle of international unity. For a Canadian asked us to give his ticket to some reader living in Hammersmith, of which London borough he had old happy memories. That is why L.M. reader Harry, member of the National Society of Painters, Hammersmith, came on June 15 to the Royal Hotel representing reader F.G.A. of Canada. Here. then is a 'delegate's report' of that occasion.

Dear Friend F.G.A.: Your representative, Harry, was one of some 380 men and women, of all walks of life, from 18 to over 80. They streamed in early; and within minutes of 7.30 there was that cheerful hum and bustle by which the practised party-goer judges things are going with a swing. Soon the lobby was packed with people waiting to be greeted by Editor R. Palme Dutt and Associate Editor R. Page Arnot. Whilst waiting they started greeting each other; the guests had taken over. In a sense they were first greeted as they came through the street door by two striking-looking photographs of these two co-founders of L.M. as young men 40 years ago. For that was the first screen in a remarkable Exhibition of the history of L.M. which a group of readers had put together. 'One of the best, most interesting exhibitions I've ever seen', an old stager remarked. You could have spent an hour on such an inspiration and education. For it was, after all, the true history of our times—you don't learn that in the school books—illustrated from the pages of L.M., whilst here, in the same room are some who made history and are making it. Too many to mention more than a handful. There in the Exhibition was Wal Hannington leading an Unemployed March; here *is* Wal, as Master of Ceremonies. There was Johnny Campbell, writing on *The Campbell Case,* which the ruling class used to bring down the first Labour Government: here's the man himself, talking to Ted Hill, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, who, with his fellow General Council member, Robert Willis (whose article in our current *Trade Union Problems* series was closely studied), is here representing their respective unions, the Boilermakers and the Typographical Society. In the Exhibition, a young man wrote on the problems of youth in the 'thirties; here he is today, John Gollan, Secretary of the Communist Party. The Exhibition shows the work of D. N. Pritt, defender of civil liberties the world over, both in and out of the law courts—here he stands, talking to the electrician's leader, Frank Foulkes, and the leading engineer, Ernie Roberts. I wonder how many present Pritt has personally defended in court? I can see at least a dozen, including one from the famous Middle East Forces 'Parliament'. In the Exhibition, Spain—here, as one of the official delegates from the South Wales miners is Jack Jones, veteran of the International Brigade, together with the miners' M.P., S. O. Davies, who later eloquently seconds the toast proposed by Ted Hill in his most bouyant mood.

You want some facts and figures, F.G.A.? Delegates from six national unions; from six London Districts of unions; delegates from trade union branches and trades councils. Besides these many other leading trade unionists—general secretaries, presidents, executive and national committee members—present on pleasure and not, as the delegates, strictly 'on trade union business'.

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1921

40th ANNIVERSARY

1961

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

Forty Years On

IN the midst of a speed of world events which would have warmed the hearts of all who shared in the foundation of this journal, *Labour Monthly* this month celebrates its fortieth anniversary. A small anniversary of a litle journal in the midst of a great world transformation. Yet we must ask the forgiveness of our readers if we steal a moment on this occasion to cast a glance backwards and forwards over the record of these forty years and the prospect before us. For even in this parochial domestic anniversary can be traced a reflection of the significance of the age in which we live.

Law of the Jungle

'Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish.' Such was the motto which legend ascribes to the pioneers of the American Revolution when they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence (whose one hundred and eighty-fifth anniversary falls this month to remind us, as President Kennedy now loves to recall, that all modern states are founded on revolution), and which in fact epitomised the philosophy of competitive capitalism. In the modern press jungle, where the increasing cannibalism of monopoly—extending also to the lowly ranks of monthly periodicals—has given rise to the appointment of yet another Press Commission as a soothing soporific to lull the cries of the victims, even survival has become a phenomenon.

Significance of Survival

Of course in the general run of press annals continuity over forty years is nothing remarkable. But the survival of a socialist journal, without wealthy backers or subsidies, over forty years is less usual. The most famous Marxist journal of the old pre-1914 era, the *Neue Zeit* edited by Kautsky, founded in 1883, perished physically in its fortieth year, after it had perished morally nine years earlier in 1914. Today the mortality of even the best known and most influentially backed monthly periodicals has become a commonplace. Ever and again the bell tolls as some once renowned review falls to join the rest, strewn like autumn leaves in Vallombrosa. In their place

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appears the hideous new spawn of American-financed lavishly produced cold war periodicals or publishers' prestige magazines put out at a loss for advertisement. The axiom that a serious monthly periodical of political and cultural interest for the general reader can no longer be maintained without a subsidy has now begun to be proclaimed as an economic law of nature.

Shaw on Labour Monthly 'Prodigy'

Yet we have defied it. Why? How? The answer is worth pursuing. For it goes beyond press conditions. Although a five figure circulation is today a midget beside the mammoths, yet in the field of serious reading periodicals we have maintained and continue to maintain our position as the premier and most widely circulated political monthly periodical of the labour and progressive movement. Bernard Shaw, with his inside knowledge of press conditions, wrote on the occasion of our twentieth anniversary:

> I forget the name of the Frenchman who, on being asked what part he had played in the French Revolution, replied that he had survived it. The survival of *Labour Monthly* for twenty years is a feat no less remarkable. The fact that its circulation runs into five figures, making it a lucrative vehicle of advertisement for books and other articles appealing to its special clientele if only advertisers could escape from their well-worn grooves, is part of the prodigy.

What would he have written if he had lived to see our fortieth anniversary, with the flag still flying? Why was this possible? Let us try to answer this question with another question. Why has the *Daily Herald,* after it was handed over from its militant origins to become the property of Transport House, sunk down from degradation to degradation, to be found impossible to maintain, despite the millions of members of the trade unions and the Labour Party, to be handed over to a millionaire combine, thereafter to be sold as a losing proposition by one millionaire to another millionaire who has in turn tried, in vain so far, to sell it off as a nuisance and a burden ('If anybody wants the *Daily Herald,* which was losing a million pounds a year when we took it over, I would be delighted to get rid of it; I regard it as a cross I have to bear.' Cecil King at the National Press Club, Washington, May 11, 1961)—while the *Daily Worker,* with no millionaire behind it, in the face of difficulties which would daunt the bravest, still rides the rough seas now in its 31st year? We have no Cecil King. We have no Howard Samuels. Neither have we the indirect subsidies of the advertising monopolists whose control of the purse, as the recent demise of mass newspapers, where

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a million readers found themselves handed over, without so much as a by-your-leave, at so much a head to a rival concern to receive henceforth the opposite political daily fodder, is the real secret behind the so-called 'freedom' of the capitalist press. But we have our friends and supporters in our readers, in this country, and in countries all over the world. They are not well off; but the support they give us, by sacrifices, from limited resources, and which we acknowledge publicly and individually each month, is a support the capitalist press can never know. Therefore on this anniversary our first thanks go to them, and to all who have helped and are helping to spread our journal, to make it known, to extend its circulation in the workshops and in all the organisations of the labour movement, among the supporters of peace and among the young people who want to know about Marxism and the modern world.

Power of Truth

If this support has been maintained for all these years and continues, if it has made possible this survival, this 'prodigy' in Shaw's term, then that also is a political fact and not a mere internal chronicle of a journal. It means that our journal has been felt to serve a need, to help those who are fighting for a new world. It means that the analysis of events in the light of Marxism has been felt to be in accord with reality, not discredited, but demonstrated by all the events of these forty years. 'The teachings of Marxism', said Lenin, 'are all-powerful because they are true.' If our journal has been able to be of service during these years, it is only to the extent that it has been able to serve as a voice, a very modest and limited voice, but nevertheless a voice and participant in the great world movement of the advance of the peoples in our age.

Can the Blind Lead the Blind?

'Walking alone among these hills,' wrote Stanley Baldwin in a private letter in 1933, 'I have come to the conclusion the world is stark mad. I have no idea what is the matter with it, but it's all wrong and at times I am sick to death of being an asylum attendant.' (Thomas Jones, *Diary 1931-50*) 'There is no sign in the office between 1923 and 1933 of a sense that the world of 1914 had gone for ever.' (Official *History of the Times,* Volume IV, 1953.) 'It was then believed (in 1931) almost universally that the war to end war would have no sequel' (*ibid*). 'The social aspects of the second revolution (in Russia) do not seem to have been understood in the office

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at first. The subject was not one which interested Dawson. . . . Steed was uninterested in Russian politics' (*ibid*). 'Mr. Brailsford remarked in 1913 that a European war was surely a thing that need no longer be considered a possibility' (Gilbert Murray in 1951). 'A year or so before 1914 there were no anxieties like these in my mind or my contemporaries' minds' (A. J. Toynbee in 1949). 'We entered upon the twentieth century in high hope for our country, our Empire and the world' (Winston Churchill at Boston, 1949).

Twice Two is Not a Tallow Candle

And so on without end. The mind of the choicest spirits and leaders of the old society, lost without compass in a world they could no longer understand. The modern world had become to them a closed book beyond comprehension, because Marxism was to them a closed book, known only to them dimly at third hand through caricatures as a supposed arbitrary dogma without relation to real life. Blindness, chloroformed cottonwool, padded-cell blindness, in charge of a storm-tossed ship heading for the rocks, with the officers ignorant of the elements of navigation. Today the record of the event stands as proof and accusation. The record year by year, of what they said and what we said, now stands in the light of the event and can no longer be changed. Foolish we may have been but never so foolish. Ignorant of much we may have been, but never so ignorant. Mistakes we have made; for whoever would wield the sword of Achilles, the sword of Marxism, can have no guarantee of infallibility. But, as Lenin said, there is a difference between the mistakes of Marxists and the mistakes of the leaders of the old dying world. The mistakes of Marxists, he said, are to miscalculate that twice two is five. But the mistakes of the leaders of the *Entente,* as he said, that is, of the leaders of Western imperialism, are to assume that twice two is a tallow candle.

Forty Years and Fulfilment

In the very first volume of this journal, in December, 1921, we wrote of the future of China. We ventured to predict, with some boldness in view of the still elementary development of conditions. not only the future victory of the communist revolution in China, but the future world leading role of the association of the Soviet Union and China at the head of the liberation movement of the peoples of all countries against imperialism. At that time the Communist Party of China had only just been formed five months earlier

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at the famous Founding Conference of twelve delegates, including Mao Tse-tung, in July, 1921. The Washington Conference of all the imperialist powers ('the greatest event for nineteen centuries', in Premier Lloyd George's phrase) was solemnly settling the fate of China—without the Chinese people. The Washington Declaration on the Far East sought, in the name of the American principle of the 'open door' in China, to establish the condominium of Western capital to exploit China. On that we suggested that this settlement would not prove 'the last word', but would more probably lead to

> the concentration of the Chinese struggle into a single struggle against the forces of the foreigner and of capital at once, so that in China, too, as in region after region of Asia, the national consciousness becomes reinforced by a social consciousness into one gigantic movement of insurrection. This, and not the paper settlements of Washington, will be the force of the future in China.

Building forward from this, we added :

> The vast peoples of Russia and China, constituting close on one third of the world's population, form the natural basis of a movement of the common peoples of the world against the schemes of parcelling out by the diplomatists and the financiers.
>
> (*Labour Monthly* Notes of the Month, December, 1921.)

That was written forty years ago. After forty years the outcome in the real world today is on the whole closer to this prediction than to the shrivelling documents of the Washington Conference Declaration of all the leaders of imperialism on the future of China.

Proof by Practice

These forty years have seen the proof of Marxism by practice. For those incapable of understanding Marxism theoretically, who can only learn after the event from the backside of history, the whole modern era has been dinning Marxism into their heads along the fool's path, empirically, by the event, by practice, by the consistency of the fulfilment of predictions with a continuity which defeats the hypothesis of the lucky guess. Even President Kennedy and his advisers have begun to show signs of becoming uneasily aware that there may be something in it, and that the confidence of Premier Khrushchov may be more than the expression of a buoyant temperament. Hence the increasing shrillness of the President's assertions that the victory of the world socialist revolution is not inevitable; that he also (the sustainer and paymaster of every corrupt reactionary feudalist or racialist or openly fascist regime in the world) is a representative of revolution; the naive belief that by a

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supreme exertion of subjective will and the infinite expenditure of dollars from a supposed bottomless purse he can replace the laws of social development and turn the wheel backwards; and his amazement and indignation when he has begun to discover, after his first hundred days, that the peoples of the world are going forward in spite of him, and in spite of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Path of Revolution

When the reminiscent sages of the upper class today speak regretfully of the golden age before 1914, on which the first world war is supposed to have broken like a bolt from the blue, they are of course only speaking for their own cloistered lives, in a hazy vision of summer afternoons on college lawns, Bloomsbury tea-parties or country house weekends, pursuing their philosophies of 'beautiful sensations' as the supposed purpose of life, and sealing their eyes against the cruel realities of the world outside their cocooned bliss. For all the generals and admirals and top political leaders and diplomats and publicists of that preceding decade the planning of the European war was their main staple, even though the event showed how little they understood what they were really preparing. To have foreseen the war of 1914 required no foresight save for the victims of the opiate of liberal illusions. When the old Socialist International, warned of the approach of the European war during the decade before 1914, called for the struggle to prevent it and defined the tasks of the working class in the event of its outbreak, the foresight consisted, not in the warning of the approaching war (such warnings were ten a penny on all sides, familiar to everyone save the Toynbees and their fellow innocents), but in the clear directive expressed through the famous amendment drafted by Lenin and Rosa Luxembourg and accepted by the International, defining the revolutionary tasks of socialists and the working-class movement in the circumstances of such a war.

Classic Prediction

But when Engels, in his letter to Liebknecht in 1888, at the same time as warning against the prospect of a general European war and proclaiming the opposition of socialism against it, outlined—over a quarter of a century in advance—the most probable concrete character and course of such a war, which would, as he said, involve fifteen to twenty million armed combatants with terrible destruction; that there would be no triumphal marches to Paris or Berlin; that

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the German thrust against France would be held before Paris, alongside German advances in Poland; and that the war would then turn into 'a war of positions' (*i.e.*, trench warfare); but that then 'a revolution in Petersburg' would transform the entire situation : this forecast of the course of the first world war, written down in black and white a quarter of a century before its outbreak, remains a classic demonstration of the predictive power of Marxism, not just because of its closeness to the actual outcome (the detail of any prediction can prove lucky or unlucky in the event), but because of the profound understanding of the driving forces of our modern world.

Marxism and Falsifiers of Marxism

Note well that Engels in 1888 did not just predict in general abstract terms the prospect of the first world war giving rise to the opening of the world socialist revolution, but specifically pointed to the Russian Revolution, arising from the first world war, as opening the transformation of the world. This corresponds to the repeated judgments of both Marx and Engels in their later years that the vanguard role in the world revolution had passed to Russia. Recognition of this is important today because refusal to face it has become the characteristic feature of the new type of refutation or falsification of Marxism now fashionable. The old type of 'refutation' of Marxism would consist of a pedantic professorial exercise in formal logic academically innocent of any knowledge of the real world whose laws of motion Marx was concerned to lay bare. With the extension of communism over one-third of the world this old style is no longer adequate. Study of 'Marxism' or 'Marxism-Leninism' has now become obligatory for every general staff, for all the adepts of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency and the Imperial Staff College, and all their proliferating lavishly financed 'research foundations' and university subsidised professorships. Vast 'manuals' of confusion pour forth daily in an abundance beyond counting. All the dunderheads and brasshats have now become 'experts' in Marxism, ready to 'prove' at the drop of a hat that the Russian Revolution was contrary to Marxism, that Lenin violated the true teachings of Marx, that Stalin violated the teachings of Lenin, that Khrushchov has violated the teachings of Stalin, that the revolution, so far from being on the whole remarkably successful, despite all shortcomings, as the innocent might imagine, has been continuously 'betrayed', and any other thesis required by the Pentagon at the given moment.

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Marxism and the Modern World

These 'experts' in Marxism now make one of their favourite themes to exhume the hoary fallacy (a ponderous tome on this theme has just been brought out by an American publisher, to be boosted as the last word with awestruck full-page reviews in the servile British press) that Marx of course expected the Socialist revolution to begin in the most advanced Western European industrial countries, and that the Bolshevik revolution and all that has followed since 1917, still more the extension of the revolution to Asia or Africa, is of course completely contrary to 'true' Marxism and the proof of the utter breakdown of his predictions. Illiterate balderdash. Already after the defeat of the 1848 revolutions Marx was writing in 1858 that the world development of capitalism was rendering out of date the conception of the prior victory of the socialist revolution in 'this little corner' (Western Europe). Marx was predicting in 1850 the shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the domination of a capitalist United States over a capitalist Western Europe. Marx was concentrating in the early eighteen-fifties on his classic study of social and political conditions in India, and gave his famous prediction of the future Indian revolution; just as in 1850 he gave his no less famous prediction of the future Chinese Revolution when he drew his picture of Western bourgeois reaction seeking to find its final bastion in China (shades of Chiang Kai-shek) and discovering written on the great Chinese Wall: 'Republic of China: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. From 1877 Marx declared that 'this time the revolution will begin in the East'; and in 1890 Engels wrote that 'Russia has become the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Europe'. Lenin laid bare the theoretical foundation for this when he showed that imperialism would crack first at its weakest point.

'Fairy Tales'

And after 1917? It was not Lenin, but Trotsky (that eternal echo of all the conventional West European vulgarisations of Marxism, therefore beloved by the West European bourgeois intellectuals, and therefore so continually wrong on every major political issue) who clung to the supposedly 'Marxist' axiom that the survival of the Soviet revolution would depend on the speedy extension of the socialist revolution to Western Europe. Lenin watched eagerly for every spark lit by the great October Revolution. But Lenin, fighting Trotsky for the necessity of the Brest Peace, warned against the

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picture of a supposed alternative through an 'All-European Revolution' as an 'abstract phrase'. Lenin in March, 1918, described the picture of an imminent 'international world revolution' as 'a beautiful fairy tale':

> Yes, we will see the international world revolution, but for the time being it is a very good fairy tale, a very beautiful fairy tale—I quite understand children liking beautiful fairy tales. But I ask, is it becoming for a serious revolutionary to believe fairy tales?
>
> (Lenin, Report on War and Peace to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party, March 7, 1918.)

Lenin knew that the time was not yet ripe.

Fairy Tales Come True

But Lenin showed the true path of the next stage, through the simultaneous building of socialism in the Soviet Union and at the same time the further cracking of imperialism once again at its weakest point, not yet in Western Europe, but in the national and colonial sphere as the decisive next phase of the world revolution. When Trotsky spoke of the 'mathematical precision' with which the date of the supposed coming Anglo-American war could be fixed (if memory serves aright, he fixed it for 1924), Lenin wrote of the probable hotbeds of a second world war as being Germany and Japan, representing the dissatisfied powers in the imperialist camp. And in his last article, in 1923, discussing the prospects of the world socialist revolution, and answering the question whether the Soviet Union could survive in face of the delay of the West European socialist revolution, he replied that Western Europe was indeed consummating its path to the socialist revolution, but in a peculiar fashion, by exploiting Asia and Africa and the colonial majority of mankind and thereby sweeping them into the revolutionary current; that this would represent the next stage of the world revolution; that Russia, China, India and the other nations awakening to revolution constituted the majority of the world's population, and that 'in this sense the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured'. There, gentlemen of the Pentagon and the new-style 'Marxist experts' and the 'new' (very ancient and hoary) anti-Soviet 'left', is the Marxism of Marx. There is the Marxism of Lenin. There is the Marxism of the thirty-six million Communists and the hundreds of millions who follow them in the modern world. And that is what is being fulfilled in the world today.

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Let the Record Speak

When the triumph of capitalist recovery and stabilisation was proclaimed in the nineteen twenties and sung by all the publicists and 'new thinker socialists' of that era (and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1929 announced that the crises of capitalism were solved for ever), we not only exposed in general terms the rotten and the temporary character of that stabilisation, but showed concretely how the return to gold was based on dollar credits and how the crash would follow within a few years when the accumulated American debt repayments and dollar interest payments would exceed the inflow of new capital. A point not without significance in the new conditions today, when the payment of interest and profits on the vast influx of American capital into Britain and Western Europe has trebled in a few years, and may soon exceed the new investment, while the United States has now a balance of payments problem and is restricting imports to force up exports.

From Hitler to 1940

When Hitler came to power, we already in 1933, before any of those who boast today of their prescience had opened their mouths, while Churchill was praising Hitler and wishing Britain could have such a man in the hour of need, we exposed the menace of Hitler for Europe and the Western policy of backing Hitler laid bare in 1933 (our first exposure of Hitler was in 1923). We exposed Munich, not, as some now boast, shortly after Munich, or even during Munich, but before Munich; when a fortnight before Munich we laid bare the plot, behind the gasmask theatricals, to present the betrayal of Czechoslovakia as a victory for peace. We not only predicted that the real danger of war would then follow while the bells of peace were ringing, but predicted, also before Munich, the future straits of 1940 and 'We Stood Alone', when we declared in mid-September, 1939, that the consequences of Munich would find a Britain alone and without allies at war with Hitler.

From the Atom Bomb to Vienna

When the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, within a fortnight of their dropping we wrote (in the September, 1945, Notes on *The Atomic Bomb and World Power Relations*)

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to expose the fallacy of the cold war theories of Anglo-American world domination on the basis of the atom bomb, and to repudiate the illusion of maintaining Western nuclear monopoly. We pointed to the real menace that the American control of the atom bomb would more likely prove the instrument, not of Western domination over the Soviet Union, but of American domination over Britain, reducing Britain, if the Labour Government were to abandon the Teheran-Yalta-Potsdam basis of Three-Power co-operation, to 'the uttermost helpless dependence of this country on the United States'. That warning of the outcome of the theory of the 'special Anglo-American relationship' and Anglo-American world domination on the basis of the atom bomb, was written in August, 1945. After his last interview with President Kennedy, Premier Macmillan may well contemplate ruefully its fulfilment today. The alternative path for the national independence of Britain, is urgently overdue.

Face to Face

And now? We have reached today a new landmark, a new watershed, with the confrontation of President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchov at Vienna. No longer the old type of Summit Conference with elaborate diplomatic retinues and preparations. Not even the original Kennedy plan at his inauguration to delay any travels from the United States or top-level meetings until the completion of 'thorough previous preparation of the ground' at 'lower levels' (it is true that he had in his fashion 'prepared the ground' at 'lower levels', in Cuba, in Laos and in Algeria, but not quite in the sense he had originally intended). No longer the mockery of the previous type of 'Big Four' meetings, with the regimented Three meeting separately to confront the One as a supposed recalcitrant minority. Nor the distorted machinery of those United Nations votes where an American-controlled minority in relation to the total population of the globe is presented as representing 'the viewpoint of the majority of mankind'. The old pretences are crumbling. At Vienna, without fanfares, the leaders of the two worlds have met, of the rising new world and of the dying old world. We are approaching the beginning of the End Game. The choice of the remaining moves is narrowing. All the old illusions of the Western rulers, of superiority, of monopoly, of the Fulton showdown, of the Sahibs laying down the law from their Olympian heights and dictating to the world, are broken and ended for all time. Harsh reality drove

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Kennedy to the confrontation of Vienna. He came away 'sobered', say the press correspondents. Which shall the choice be? Peace or war? Negotiation or new violent adventures like Cuba and Laos? Disarmament or the multiplication of the arms race with new even more inhuman weapons? Settlement of the smouldering danger spots like West Berlin, or fomentation to the moment of explosion? The choice is still open. It is not yet too late. The future of all of us depends on this choice. By our action now we can participate in this choice, while there is still time.

June 12, 1961 R.P.D.

A GREAT CHINESE ANNIVERSARY

Forty years ago in Shanghai, on July 1, 1921, the Communist Party of China was founded. Twelve delegates, amongst them Mao Tse-tung and Tung Pi-wu, met in an upper room to hold that foundation congress. They represented 57 members. It was just four years after the teachings of Marx had been brought to China on the wings of the Russian Revolution. These forty years since have witnessed the victory of the teachings of Marx and Lenin amongst a people that number a fourth part of mankind, with a culture stretching back for five thousand years.

The Communist Party of China led the people—the workers, the peasants and all the democratic forces—in struggles against their oppressors; led them in a series of revolutionary wars—both civil wars and wars of resistance to Japanese aggression—for a quarter of a century; led them to the victory over imperialism and feudalism and set up the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The winning of this victory against such enemies which cost the lives of countless martyrs in the cause was followed in these last twelve years first by the democratic revolution and then by the stages of the socialist revolution. The task now, to transform a backward agrarian country into a socialist industrialised land, has to be carried out against the continuous hostility of imperialism, whose leaders hire and are hired in their attacks by the vilest of mankind. They will be forgotten even as their puppet figures pass grimacing from the stage; their time will have been but 'an evening gone, short as the watch that ends the night' in the great history of the great Chinese people.

R.P.A.

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THIS WONDERFUL 'FREE WORLD'

R. Page Arnot

IT was on a Wednesday, the last day of May, 1961, and just seven Wednesdays after Yuri Gagarin went into orbit first of mankind, that in the City of London the very latest Lord Mayor (there have been six centuries of them) gave a banquet to the representatives of 'the arts, sciences, and learning': that the B.B.C. thought fit to put the after-banquet speeches on the air: and that several million listeners could hear what was primarily meant for the ears of a few dozen strictly selected persons. Several millions therefore had the gruesome experience of listening to the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, laboriously constructing jest after jest. But this gentleman whose name was Sparrow* could be serious too: he showed that he knew how to peck not only in his sneer at Sir Charles Snow but when he ranged himself and the British representatives of art, science and learning on the side of *The Free World* and dismissed the rest of mankind as 'savages' and 'slaves'. Listeners (or those of them who had not switched off) presumably turned to one another at this point and muttered how sorry they all felt for Gagarin.

Yes, this did happen on the 31st of May: this banquet was held: these speeches were uttered and were broadcast: and while nobody was a penny the worse for all the wine-fed words, nevertheless the fundamental nonsense of it all ought to be exposed and stopped. For all this monstrous rubbish in the press and in speeches about *The Free World* is becoming like a mental disease—and a contagious disease. It is true that some argue that this particular rubbish does not matter in comparison with all the other kinds of falsehood, pretence and make-believe that come out from platform, press and wireless in such vast quantities: and they give the example of all the nonsense in recent months about the newly created Baron Fisher of Lambeth being solemnly read and repeated even by those who knew that as an Archbishop he had been as much below the average level of his predecessors since 1688 (or 590 A.D. for that matter) in the See of Canterbury as Archbishop Temple had been slightly above that average. Those who argue in this manner make

*The Lord Mayor had made play with the name of Sparrow but forebore to quote the New Testament verse 'Are not five Sparrows sold for two farthings?'

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a mistake. They run the risk of accepting defeat on all such questions as are outside the everyday experience of men and women in their homes and places of work.

These words *The Free World* (whether automatically tagged on to speeches and press articles or solemnly used in state pronouncements as on the de Gaulle-Kennedy talks in Paris) always seem to conjure up something that is highly praiseworthy if not very precisely defined. But then if it were regularly defined they would have to say *The Free World* comprised the states inside Nato which, together with Cento and Seato, make up the system of military alliances directed against the U.S.S.R. and other powers in the Warsaw Treaty group. Then immediately a list of the allies inside Nato-Cento-Seato would make very curious reading on even the most liberal interpretation of the word 'free', for it would include the colonial powers and notable amongst them fascist Portugal, lately busy massacring the African population of Angola. It would have to include Trujillo in Dominica, where thirty years of a corrupt and murderous despotism was blandly revealed in the British press only after the despot fell out of favour with the U.S.A. in these last months and was removed by assassination on May 30.

Then besides Chiang Kai-shek, the Asian list of the allies would be swelled by corrupt dollar-propped despots. Of course they might in private conversation (not to be revealed to the House of Commons) protest that by *The Free World* what was meant was really the chief allies and that no stress should be laid on the 'pretty ghastly crew' of subsidised supporters. But this could hardly be said in public both because the 'pretty ghastly crew' are very much on their dignity and would resent any such reference, and because there are people who would begin to enquire into the credentials of the chief allies as giving the tone to *The Free World* and might ask questions: what about West Germany, where there is a law suppressing the Communist Party? What about France, where the representation of the working class was reduced by the simple device of rigging the electoral laws even before the *coup d'état* of 1958 brought in Charles de Gaulle to rig it further, where press freedom is often celebrated by the government seizing and suppressing an issue of a newspaper? Critics might even be bold enough to ask, what about the U.S.A.? Clearly it is a very ticklish business to begin to dissect *The Free World* and examine the list of its components.

On the other hand an attempt might be made to define *The Free World* by showing not what it is but what it is not, that is, by show-

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ing that all countries which have got rid of landlordism and capitalism are automatically excluded from *The Free World*. This negative or delimiting type of definition used to be much in favour. But in this case the use of it is bound to lead many people to conclude that *The Free World* equals the capitalist world.*

But this is where we came in 150 years ago, with Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, with free trade and the rights of property, freedom to buy and sell labour-power, freedom to exploit, freedom to starve. This was the original *Free World* that hurled its defiance at feudal privileges and its denunciation at working-class advance which would infringe its freedom. It was the task of the Socialists, of those who built the Labour movement in Britain (as it was the task of the Chartists earlier) to expose and defeat this 'bogus liberty' (to quote Shaw), this spurious freedom and to open the eyes of the workers to the fact that viewed from a class angle, *i.e.*, society seen not from above but from below, freedom can be just another name for exploitation.

Yes. This was *The Free World* that boasted its free competition in the free market; its free Parliaments chosen by free vote; its freedom of the press and freedom of the post; freedom from arbitrary arrest and freedom from spies and secret police: only to have its seamy side exposed and its pretensions denounced by successive generations of socialists.

But today, now that monopoly has made a mockery of it all—and now that in June, 1961, the men of the U.S. Supreme Court have legally canonised McCarthy and cast their dung upon the 'self-evident truths' of the 1776 Declaration of Independence—the attempt to deceive people by the slogan of *The Free World* is surely going to be regarded as the mark of a non-juvenile delinquent.

*We ignore for a moment the consideration that socialist countries could just as well claim to use the word 'free' on the ground that their people have been set free from landlordism and capitalism.

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PROBLEMS OF PEACEWORK

Ivor Montagu

WHAT are the prospects of peace and war in this summer of 1961 A.D.? The balance is still uneasy. There are still positive and negative factors. On the one hand the ruins of the imperialist forward policy inherited by the new U.S. President from his predecessor and associates lie all around. Everywhere he faces frustration. The whole arms race is proved futile. Never will U.S. capitalism be able to impose its will on the U.S.S.R. and the Socialist world by intimidation. 'Negotiation from strength' is *out*. The dreams of 'roll-back', 'liberation of captive nations' and the like are punctured for good. On the other hand there is not the slightest sign in any direction of policy that the new U.S. administration is prepared to recognise these stubborn facts and draw the necessary conclusions.

Still, channels between K. and Kh. have been opened. Good. But what matters, after all, is what passes between them. And what will determine that is not the character of K. but the action of you and me. Wait for Godot, or him—pin our faith to any saviour—and we are lost. What he does, we will determine. That is the job of the peoples of the world. It is our job.

How to fulfil it in this country?

The development of the peace movement in this country has served as an inspiration to the world. Certainly the mass actions have not attained the dimensions of the great demonstrations in Japan, for example. But then Britain was an agent, and not a patient, in the affairs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The huge expression of opposition to nuclear weapons at the annual Aldermaston marches behind the banner of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the opposition to Polaris and German rearmament, the slashing trade union votes for peace, culminating in the resolutions of the Scarborough conference of the Labour Party have raised the objectives of peace to the level of politics, placing them on the order of the day for practical adoption as governmental policy, if necessary by changing government. This level has been attained so far in no other non-neutralist country. The movement and the plain common-sense of its objectives, is still rising in this country and can become invincible. The only forces that can now hold it back are hesitation or confusion from within its ranks. As often, when a movement reaches such a height, there are dangers to which

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it becomes prone, either from simple error or from deliberate change of tactics by the enemy.

The twin dangers that are threatening at the moment, and are already gnawing at the fringes, are defeatism and division. There is absolutely no warrant for either. The great merit of the movement against nuclear armaments is that with its simple purpose it brought into political activity many who had never been active before. Its appeal had two sides, both simple, one moral and one common-sense, and both transcending party politics. The common-sense one refuted the idiocy and hypocrisy with which those whose political self-interest was linked to folly pretended nuclear weapons could be of any benefit, defensive or deterrent, to British security; the moral issue roused women and youth formerly outside, or even allergic to, the effort of political thought. Building on the tireless earlier foundation of the British Peace Committee, the work around the Stockholm Appeal, by trade unionists, communists and pacifists, on the simple incontrovertibility of its logic, masses have come into action. But every organism has not only the strengths but the weaknesses of its nature. After the vote at Scarborough, many expected the walls of Jericho to fall immediately, as though at the blast of the ram's horn. When Gaitskell and his gang announced their disobedience and his intent to 'Fight, Fight and Fight' again against his constitutional obligations, for some it was as earth-shattering as though some Test Match cricketer had refused to go back to the pavilion after a good ball had removed his middle stump —instead of expecting it, they were nonplussed by it. They hardly knew what to do next. Instead of fight, fight, fighting back and with interest, they shrank with a shiver from this cold contact with the clammy unfairness of life. They saw the radio, formerly open to their spokesmen, become closed to all but their traducers and misrepresenters. The press harrow and jeer at them, while spreading its columns wide to every slander, evasion and downright falsification that any of Gaitskell's epigones cares to dredge up from the bottomless pit of their malicious invention—Defeat! Defeat! Defeat! blared these trumpets of the Establishment about every new development whatever its nature or significance, while the wire-pullers of the Gaitskell apparatus worked away in private committee and the beer and coffee parties of local labour bosses, like busy little termites. And so instead of carrying the torch yet more firmly outside their ranks, there has been a turning of some peace circles inward, for comfort among their own, a casting about for new paths

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when that along which they were marching had already led almost to the top.

At the moment all the mass organs of opinion and misleadership within control of the Establishment are concentrating on spreading the picture that Gaitskell will win at the coming Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference. But it is noticeable that wherever Scarborough has had an apparent voting setback at a union conference, this has again and again been on the basis of cunningly-contrived compositing, order of taking resolutions and amendments, confusion with appeals for unity without principle and the like, instead of on the basis of head-on frank presentation of the issues. You have only to go out into the street, to knock on doors, to discuss in any trade union branch, to attend any trade union conference (even those that have been tricked and bamboozled into ambiguous votes) to be sure that there are not less, but more and yet ever more in Britain today, who see no safety in nuclear weapons, who do not want Polaris, who feel soiled and imperilled by the boot-licking to Western Germany, who want to see Britain not hog-tied to Kennedy and Adenauer, but taking its own initiative for peace. What is needed, however, is to understand the nature of the fight. Just as the Scarborough vote was wrongly estimated by some of the less experienced as a goal—instead of being understood as a landmark, the mark of a new situation in which the no less necessary fight could be intensified under more favourable circumstances for reaching the goal (in fact, not a goal but a corner)—so even adverse and confused votes at the coming autumn conferences cannot represent a triumph, in themselves, for the enemy. Those whose concern is peace, and the welfare and security of Britain, will no more halt after the autumn than Gaitskell and those concerned to imprison the labour movement in Toryism gave up their fight after Scarborough. For us, history, the daily lesson of events, as well as the growing feelings of our fellows, the peace forces in this country and in all countries, all these are fighting, all invincibly on our side.

It is in this situation that we must evaluate exactly and with clarity, the new organisations that are coming into being, such as the Committee of 100, and their new activities together with the Direct Action Committee, and similar bodies abroad. These movements are born of a sense of urgency, which is a good thing, and they express readiness to face discomfort and sacrifice, which is also wholly good. The World Peace Council under leadership of the late Professor Joliot-Curie, formulated the principle: 'We are

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ready to support every initiative tending towards peace, by whomsoever undertaken'. To this unifying principle in the struggle the British Peace Committee has always been actively faithful. It is the duty of all peace-lovers to help, and support with all their power, every active manifestation for peace. In the struggle for peace it is not a question of methods conventional or methods taboo, but of methods effective, methods that rouse rather than antagonise, methods that teach and in which the masses will participate.

The tendency that must be overcome, however, is that which tries to set up such demonstrations as an exclusive pattern; that tries to recruit for them by spreading wholly unwarranted despondency and unfaith in other methods; that tries to make sitting down in Whitehall a substitute for evenings at the trade union branch or on the knocker; that fosters impatience—a bad counsellor—in the guise of urgency and in the name of the latter pays exclusive attention to the rôle of accident among the possible causes of a nuclear outbreak, thus diverting attention from the political responsibilities and involved group profits, in the arms drive and the causes and merits and solutions of international disputes. It must not be forgotten that a-political purity and nihilism is a renunciation of the obligation on the intelligence to discriminate, an evasion of human responsibilities, diversion of justified protest against warmongering, and so can play into the hands of those who indeed prepare war and seek to hide their acts and nullify protests against them. These methods must on no account become a cause of *division*. Not only in nuclear explosions, but in work against them, fusion is stronger than fission. The fell influence of McCarthy in the United States reigns still not only among reactionaries and the unthinking, but even among liberals and peacemakers, who, trying among themselves to emphasise the cleanliness of their thoughts and pedigree, atomise and weaken the influence that the vast peace feeling in U.S.A., fearlessly united, could otherwise assert. This example should prevent us from falling into a similar trap in Britain.

The way forward for the peace movement is by co-ordination and friendship between all organisations, encouragement by all of all activities the members of each can find it in conscience and within their energies and possibilities to undertake, planning and consultation to prevent crossed lines. None need lose identity. Unity in form and organisation is not ripe. Unity in action, corresponding to unity in purpose, is indispensable. All the objective factors are there for victory. Not B.B.C. nor I.T.V., not King nor Thomson,

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not Strauss nor Gaitskell, not Jackie Kennedy nor Mrs. Braddock, can make black white, death life, nor this country and the world secure without a change in policy. Not only the stars in their courses but the new, man-made, stars are fighting for us. So we shall win, but if we want to win speedily we must also help ourselves.

WHO IN EUROPE WANTS WAR?

Quæstor

IS there a menace of war from West Germany? Answering Members of Parliament who had questioned the policy of arming the Federal Republic, Defence Minister Watkinson repeated the old argument:

> We should treat Germany as so close to the other allies that she could not take independent action even if she wished. . . . On balance the wisest course is to embody West Germany, as she so wishes, as closely and firmly into the western alliance as we can. (May 31, 1961.)

He refused to state categorically that West Germany would not get nuclear weapons, or would not be allowed to build them.

It is time to look again at this story that the Bonn government 'could not take independent action even if she wished'. For today, on this side of the Atlantic, West Germany has become the strongest member of the alliance.

Economic. The following table, showing the percentage of industrial output in the capitalist world falling to the main Powers, tells its own story:

	1948	*1958*	*1960*
U.S.A.	66·4	53·3	46·9
West Germany	4·3	7·8	10·4
Great Britain	11·7	8·3	7·7
France	4·1	8·3	7·7
Italy	2·1	3·1	4·1
Japan	1·5	2·2	4·1

Incidentally, the table also shows what chances British industry has of surviving if its markets are thrown open to free penetration by its 'partners'—headed by West Germany—through Britain's entry into the Common Market.

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West Germany produces 45 per cent of the steel and 60 per cent of the coal turned out by the six present members of that organisation: its engineering and chemical industries are even more predominant. West German exports to the other countries of Western Europe in 1960 were larger than those of the U.S.A. and exceeded British and French exports combined.

The owners of these industrial products and exported goods are not the people of West Germany, but a small group of monopoly capitalists, more highly concentrated than ever before in German history. In 1913 nine big banks controlled 80 per cent of the country's bank deposits: in 1938 six: in 1961, there are three. Seventeen industrial and commercial monopoly groups, with a capital of 22,600 million marks, likewise control over 80 per cent of all West German share capital. The West German Social-Democratic Party has repudiated Marx's ideas as out of date: but in its programme adopted in November, 1959, it has declared:

> Thanks to their power, which has grown still further through their trusts and combinations, the leading representatives of heavy industry have acquired an influence on the State and on policy which is incompatible with the principles of democracy. They have usurped State power.

Military. What have they usurped State power for? Up to 1958 two-thirds of the conventional weapons of the Bundeswehr (West German army) were imported, in 1961 two-thirds are manufactured within the country. Eight out of twenty-one Nato divisions in Central Europe are West German. By the end of 1961 there are to be eleven, and by January, 1962, twelve. By that time the West German army will constitute 43 per cent of the land forces of Nato in Central Europe, 30 per cent of the air force and 80 per cent of its navy. It also possesses a very wide range of rockets, guided missiles and jet planes, bought from Britain and the U.S.A.—and over 250 rocket launching pads will shortly be ready. All the restrictions in this respect, about which there was a lot of talk when German rearmament was being authorised in 1954, have been weakened. On April 23, 1958, the Bundeswehr was allowed to manufacture anti-tank guided missiles. On October 21, 1959, it was allowed to make surface-to-air and air-to-air missiles. In December, 1959, Western Germany was allowed to build 5,000-ton destroyers (instead of 3,000 ton, as decided originally), armed with atomic rockets. Last month the level was raised to 6,000 tons, *i.e.*, the Bundesmarine was allowed to build atomic-armed cruisers. No wonder West German rulers have openly pressed for the right to

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build atomic weapons themselves (notably in a famous memorandum of the Bundeswehr generals in August, 1960). In the meantime, they have been gaining experience by participating in French nuclear bomb development and 'ballistic research', and in construction, with other Western Powers, of rockets (since June, 1959) and jet fighters (since December, 1960)—under U.S. licence.

The military manœuvres of the Bundeswehr, since it completed the first phase of its training and conventional armament in the autumn of 1959, bear a special character. While each separately seems purely 'academic', a very different picture emerges when the series are taken together ('Wallenstein I' that summer, 'Winterschild I' in January, 1960, 'Wallenstein II' in August, 1960, 'Hold Fast'—combining over 20,000 West German troops and 45,000 of other Nato countries—in September, 1960, and 'Winterschild II' in January, 1961). The territory, methods and conditions chosen provided intensive training for a lightning surprise attack on the German-Democratic Republic, with massive sea landings along the Baltic coast and a tank break-through in the south, over the G.D.R.-Czechoslovak frontier region—backed by crushing nuclear rocket attacks on Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Baltic ports.

Ideological. These economic and military developments lend purpose and sense to what otherwise might be treated as empty propaganda. One example is Chancellor Adenauer's statement in Parliament on October 21, 1954 (and it still holds good) that his government 'does not recognise the Oder-Neisse line as a State frontier' and considers the territory thus detached as 'German State territory'. Another is his announcement to the Pope in January, 1960, that 'God has allotted to the German people a special rôle in these stormy times—to serve as a bulwark of the West against the mighty influence exercised on us from the East' (*Press Bulletin* of the West German Government, January 23, 1960). A third statement by Adenauer translated this sacred rôle into more prosaic terms: on April 30, 1960, he said his aim was 'to regain freedom for the millions who have had to live under the alien Soviet regime since 1945' (*Press Bulletin*, the same day). This was another way of saying: 'to restore capitalist rule in the G.D.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere'. The sense of all three statements—and indeed of many others like them, made by Adenauer and his Ministers—was to prepare for war, since obviously they would never get what they want by peaceful means.

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An essential supporting accompaniment to this sabre rattling is the wilder propaganda—frequently blessed by the attendance of Adenauer's Ministers at the vast meetings where it is uttered—of the twenty-nine *Landsmannschaften,* or associations of supposed expelled persons from the territories lost to West German imperialism, and the 1,200 'old comrades organisations', among them 45 of the former Waffen S.S., the Nazi terrorist troops-in-chief. Their open revenge propaganda is usually hurriedly passed over by the British newspapers: yet they have a membership of eight millions.

Political. The Adenauer government has for years past taken its precautions by suppressing opposition—first of all, of course (just like Hitler) among the mass organisations of the workers, but latterly casting a wider net. Long ago it secured the suppression of the Communist Party—alone in Western Europe. Then it did the same, at a farcical trial, for the peace movement—again alone in Western Europe. Over 200 other progressive bodies, not to its liking, have been suppressed. The Lord Mayor of Munich himself recently said that 'more and more people of the Federal Republic who do not yet fully agree with the Federal Government are regarded and defamed as "Reds", enemies of the State and the constitution' (*Süddeutsche Zeitung,* April 22-23, 1961).

Conclusions. These should be obvious. West German monopoly capitalism has now got into a position when, if it wishes, it can launch a 'localised' war on the German Democratic Republic, using some convenient pretext like a border incident or troubles in West Berlin. The allies of the G.D.R. would of course go to its assistance, and a third world war would be launched by dragging in the allies of West Germany. Whatever the calculations of Adenauer or Strauss, the consequences for Britain are beyond doubt.

However, there is another possibility—as was shown in 1939, when all the elaborate calculations in London and Paris, that Hitler's army could only attack eastwards, went astray. That is that the West German monopoly capitalists and militarists will once again try their luck westwards—playing on the inevitable and growing differences between France, Britain and the U.S.A. There is no lack of ideological preparation for this—partly by a flood of official talk about the need for European 'unification' and 'integration'. Thus Herr Seebohm, one of Adenauer's Ministers, declared recently: 'Our task, our aim, is to remove the frontier between the peoples of Europe in order to acquire the power one day to remove

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the frontiers behind the Iron Curtain' (*Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, July 23, 1960).

'And what about West Germany being closely and firmly mixed up with the other Nato Powers?', Mr. Watkinson and his faithful right-wing Labour echoes may ask. The answer is that she *already* has a skeleton alternative military organisation—the reserves of the 'Territorial Army', already numbering several hundred thousand trained men (to be greatly increased within a few years, by intensive three months' courses of *specialist* training, already announced)—and a skeleton General Staff, in the shape of the 'Territorial Defence Command'. Of course this organisation for the moment is in the shadows: but it is in the shadows that such coups are prepared. When required, it can come out into the light, and all the Bundeswehr corps, air forces, navy, rocket battalions, etc., could be detached from their Nato 'entanglement' and reattached to a 'truly German' military machine.

'Oh, but would the Germans be so deceitful?' The simple fact is that West German monopoly capitalists are in business, both economic and political, for their own imperialist ends, not for those of the U.S.A. or Britain. And if it suits them to pretend to be democrats and peacelovers, in order to rebuild their shattered fortunes once again by playing for a while on the besotted anti-Sovietism of British and American Tories and Tory Labourites—and then, one fine day, to turn against their patrons because, on the whole, they regard the latter as easier prey than the Socialist countries—why, they will do so. They have a long record of this kind of double dealing. During the Weimar Republic, Stresemann, then Foreign Minister and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, told a questioning Hamburg journalist in 1926:

> You cannot expect the German Government and German diplomacy to be so naïve as to inform the *Entente* (Britain and France) that Germany intends to alter its frontier by force.

Hitler said at a Nazi press conference on November 10, 1938:

> Circumstances forced me for decades to speak almost exclusively of peace. Only on conditions of constantly underlining the German will to peace, and its peaceful intentions, was it possible for me to give the German people the armaments which were always necessary as a preliminary to the next step.

We have been warned. All the contours of a dictatorial Fourth Reich—militarist, imperialist, aggressive, treacherous, a deadly peril to its neighbours both East and West—are today bursting through the flimsy disguise of West German 'democracy'.

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POLITICAL CASES

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

POLITICAL cases are an important part of the class struggle. Both lawyers and laymen, particularly politicians, should grasp this clearly, lest they misunderstand both political cases and politics generally.

What are these cases and how do they come up in the courts? It is not easy to define them; they remind one of Lord Macaulay's remark about the elephant, that he could not define it, but he knew it when he saw it. The nature of the charge is some indication; sedition is always political, conspiracy quite often. The character of the accused helps; he is generally political, and not a criminal in any ordinary sense of the word. The activities that have led to the prosecution are even more indicative, for example, the expression of opinions unwelcome to the establishment, in speech or writing. Perhaps the clearest indication of all comes when the prosecutor, in opening the case, says: 'This is not a political case'. Then you can be virtually certain. And, of course, the way the judge behaves is pretty indicative; I will return to that later.

How do the cases come up for trial? They come up in the same guise as ordinary non-political criminal cases, for few countries make any outward difference between political and other cases. (West Germany is an exception. There you have separate divisions of the courts to try political cases, and there is a specialised group of distinguished defence lawyers, numbering seventy or eighty.) Major political cases go to the Assizes or the Central Criminal Court, where the accused are defended by barristers, except in the rare cases where they defend themselves. Minor cases, often important, are heard in the police courts, where the accused may be defended by solicitors, or by barristers, or by themselves.

How is the class struggle fought in the courts? Well, it is a pretty tough struggle, fought in a deceptive atmosphere of smoothness. The behaviour of the courts, and of the prosecutors, shocks unsuspecting barristers when they first come into contact with it; they have been brought up to believe in the fairness of the judges, and they suddenly meet something very different. Workers, having fewer illusions, get less of a shock; but none will be wholly free of shock unless he has had sufficient political or trade union experience to cure him not just of some of his illusions but of all of them.

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I can illustrate what I have said of the courts and prosecutors if I describe a case I conducted nearly thirty years ago. It was not my first political case, but it was the first in which I defended Communists; it ripped away nearly every illusion I cherished, and showed me vividly how even the best of judges will falsify every liberal boast about the excellence of British justice when a Left is involved.

A group of Communists from South Wales who had been distributing anti-war publications to soldiers, were tried in London on various charges in the 'incitement to mutiny' category. The famous left-wing solicitor, W. H. Thompson, 'briefed' me to defend them; he was a man some years older than myself, with a very long experience in political cases, both the minor ones he conducted himself and the major ones in which he had to employ a barrister. When he brought me the case, he said: 'Look here, Pritt, you know how to conduct cases, but you haven't yet the least idea of what you will have to put up with in the way of dirty tricks from the judge and the prosecution in a political case like this. You'll smell the hostility the moment you go through the door of the court, and you'll do more than just smell it as soon as the hearing starts, and all the way through!' Thompson was a great friend of mine, a great solicitor, and a great man; but I had not yet lost all my illusions, and I did not wholly believe him. I told him so, and he answered: 'All right. Wait and see'. I did not have to wait long before I 'saw' a great deal.

The first bit of Government sharp practice came even before the trial; a copy of the indictment—the document which tells each of the accused exactly what offence is charged against him, with a few details of the offence—was not delivered until 4.30 p.m. on the day before the trial. In cases of any substance, such copies are normally delivered some days before the hearing; and normally they are not of supreme importance because they do no more than put into definite legal form the charges on which the magistrates have committed the accused for trial. But it is always necessary for the defence to have a copy in good time, to see whether the prosecution has enlarged or changed the charges in the indictment to something different from the committal. Thompson, who never failed a client and never trusted a government, had been pressing for a copy of the indictment day by day for a week, being put off all the time with excuses: 'Sorry, it is not quite ready today, probably it will be tomorrow'.

Then, when he finally got the copy he found that one of the more important defendants had been quietly 'promoted' from a charge of

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a minor offence, punishable at most with one year's imprisonment, to one of a major offence punishable with imprisonment for life. Such a change is permissible if the prosecution asserts that on the evidence that was given before the magistrates the accused can properly be charged with the more serious offence, but it would never have been done at such short notice in a non-political case. Off went my first illusion, before I had even got into court, namely, that prosecutors would behave with some approach to fairness in political cases, as in ordinary ones.

This last-minute change raised all sorts of problems for the defence. Up to that moment, although there had been a possibility that this particular accused might defend himself, or be defended by a different barrister from the other four, it had been a moderately simple case, in which all the five accused could be defended effectively by myself and my junior. But, with this new charge, the question arose whether the man in question should be separately defended, either by myself, with some new barrister to defend the other four, or vice versa, or whether he would do better to defend himself.

Discussing the problem with Thompson and the client involved, in the evening, after we had got the copy indictment, I said that we would obviously have to have an adjournment of a few days to consider the problem, and to give time to master the case to any new barrister that had to be brought in. Thompson said: 'Yes, if the judge grants the adjournment!' I replied that he could scarcely refuse, since the whole trouble had been caused by the inexcusable delay of the prosecution. He said: 'As I said before, wait and see!' And, as before, I waited and I saw. The case was called on the next morning before a judge of great experience and knowledge, so bitterly opposed to anything left-wing that he could scarcely have given a fair trial if he had tried; he had in fact been one of the prosecutors in the case against the Communist leaders in 1925. When I asked for the adjournment, he said: 'Why?' in the iciest tone imaginable; I proceeded to state, subject to a certain amount of interruption from him, the reasons I have outlined above. He was quite unmoved, and said that the change of accusation in the indictment made no difference. I replied that unless and until the prosecution demonstrated their agreement with that view by dropping the new charge, I should go on thinking that it made the difference, among other things, between a possible one year's imprisonment and possible life imprisonment. And so we went on,

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hammer and tongs (or rather, like a rocket, red hot one end and icy cold at the other). At one point he said: 'Do you realise that, if I were to grant this adjournment, at least one day of judicial time would be wasted?' (It has always been almost an obsession with those in charge of court procedure that, however much other people's time may be squandered, no part of the twenty-four or twenty-five hours a week which make up the regular sitting-times of judges should be unoccupied.) I replied—just keeping my temper even if I did feel as hot as the front end of the rocket—that no doubt he would rebuke the prosecution for wasting his time, but that he might consider that the waste of a day's judicial time was a lesser evil than a day spent causing injustice to accused persons who had not had the time to prepare to meet a new situation. He still remained unmoved, so I played my last card.

My last card was based on the long-standing right of any accused to 'challenge' anyone summoned to sit on a jury, that is to say, to exclude that person from the jury that is to try him; some of these challenges are 'peremptory', *i.e.*, the accused can exclude a man without giving any reason. The right is not often exercised in England, nowadays, although it is still used regularly in some countries, and the officials who have to summon a number of people to the Central Criminal Court as 'jurors in waiting'—whilst they call up substantially more than the bare minimum required, certainly do not summon the large numbers that would be required to cover wholesale challenges. I could see that, if the judge was adamant in refusing an adjournment, I could hold up the trial—at least for the whole day—by challenging the jurymen one by one as they were called up; I had the right to twelve peremptory challenges for each accused, or sixty in all, so that to provide a jury of twelve after I had exhausted my challenges, there would have had to be 72 'jurors in waiting'. As by this time all the other courts sitting that day had got their juries into the box and settled down to their work, it was almost impossible that there would still be anything like 72 people waiting. The exercise of my challenges would thus run the supply dry before there were twelve jurymen in the box, and it would not be possible to get a jury until the next day, when a new batch of 'jurors in waiting' might be available.

I could not of course directly threaten the judge with the use of this weapon, but I 'stage-whispered' to my junior that, if we did not get the adjournment, I would exercise the sixty peremptory challenges, and that if there were 72 'jurors in waiting' to defeat me I

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would eat my wig. The judge of course heard what I said, and presumably did not want this public advertisement of his behaviour (such a move would have caught the press headlines); he made no comment of any kind, but immediately said, as icily as ever: 'I will grant an adjournment until tomorrow morning'. This did not give us time to get new defence counsel if we decided to have a separate defence; but it did give us time to consider what course to follow, and we decided in the end that I should continue to defend all the five. (It also gave time to Thompson to ask me if I now thought he had been right in his criticisms and warnings!)

When this case came on the next morning, the government played one more bit of 'showmanship' or window-dressing. One of the witnesses, alleged to have had an anti-militarist pamphlet put into his hands by one of the defendants, was a 'territorial' soldier, *i.e.*, a civilian who has joined a 'Territorial' battalion, in which he serves in camp, in uniform, one week a year, and for the other fifty-one weeks goes about his civilian occupation, drilling occasionally in the evenings.

He went into the witness box not in the civilian dress which he normally wore, but in full military uniform, with buttons beautifully polished and accoutrements blindingly white, looking the picture of a devoted and innocent soldier to whom someone had basely tried to talk peace. When asked why he had come up in uniform, he replied that he had been told to do so.

The case went on with icy unpleasantness, but without any more major tricks; my clients were convicted and sent to prison; and in due course they came out without a stain on their characters and went on with their useful lives.

Be alert to political cases. The way they are fought may make great differences to the whole political future of a country. Several African states have had their independence hastened by vigorously-defended political prosecutions.

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AFRIC

Osagyefo
Dr. Kwame NKRUMAH
President of the Republic
of **GHANA**

ON behalf of the Government and people of Ghana I have great pleasure in saluting the *Labour Monthly* on its fortieth anniversary.

When we cast a retrospective glance over the past forty years, we see that great changes have occurred in the political forward march of subject peoples.

In Africa, especially, political liberty, the precursor of other forms of liberty, has come to States that a few years ago had been described as politically immature by the imperialists and colonialists.

The trend of political advancement in Africa is so rapid that political observers have found it beyond their ken to predict what happens next.

Consequently, the imperialist colours of the political map of Africa are radically fading away, and soon the artificial boundaries which divide Africa will be completely obliterated.

In this melting-pot of change, only one sublime result will emanate from the political forge: the effective political union of African States.

The *Labour Monthly,* in the forty years of its existence, has played a noble and courageous role in the fight against imperialism and colonialism.

The crusade is yet to end and when it ends, it is hoped this august and fighting monthly will deserve a place on the honour list of African gratitude.

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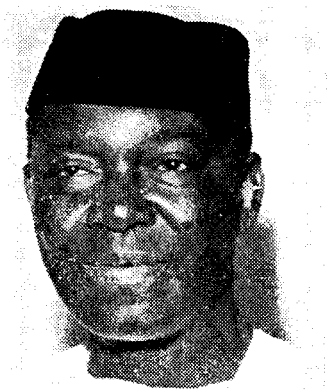
PEAKS



The Rt. Hon. **Dr. Nnamdi AZIKIWE,** P.C.
Governor General of
NIGERIA

I AM happy to have this opportunity of sending this message of greetings to *Labour Monthly* on the occasion of the celebration of its 40th anniversary.

When *Labour Monthly* was founded forty years ago, the world had only just emerged from a great and terrible war. Man was again applying himself to the equally hideous task of finding answers and solutions to the great and terrifying questions and problems created by the war. Socialism, hitherto mainly an intellectual exercise, had now become a force to be reckoned with in politics. Socialist and Labour Parties began to take shape and to operate as active organised political parties throughout the world.

Labour Monthly, I am sure, did as much as any other journal to spread these socialist ideas and principles, thereby contributing to the political awakening of colonial peoples, and helping to lay the foundation of democracy in many countries of the world.

As it celebrates its fortieth anniversary, *Labour Monthly* is entitled to take pride in the fact that many of the former colonial territories, whose cause it had championed, have achieved political freedom and are now independent sovereign States.

It will be necessary for *Labour Monthly* to continue to guide and encourage the new nations of Africa and Asia to foster and maintain democratic principles and practices of government in order to ensure that there shall always be government of the people by the people for the people.

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

ARE DOCKERS DECASUALISED?

W. Lindley*

AS yet another dock strike ended recently, the president of the London Chamber of Commerce, Lord Ebbisham, commented:

> Since the introduction of the Dock Labour Scheme in 1947 there have been over 20 major unofficial strikes, nearly two a year, in the Port of London. Probably the most serious aspect is the long-term effect on the country's exports.

This is a fact. What, then, has gone wrong with the bid to put an end to the evil of 'casual labour' which for so long has burdened the lives of the dockworker and his family? Obviously if I am to write on *The Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties* in the docks, the dominant subject must be the Dock Labour Scheme.

The major object of this scheme, brought into effect by the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1947, was to give stability and security to the labour force. The dockworker everywhere saw it as an attempt to take him and his family out of the sphere of uncertainty and provide him with regular employment. This 'decasualisation' was the reason that the late Ernie Bevin forced the legislation through the House of Commons at an opportune time, to achieve his long cherished aim to improve the status of the casual worker and bring regularity of employment to the docker. At the same time, the Scheme was to provide an adequate efficient labour force to perform dock work in the ports throughout the country. On that there is no argument; and certainly no one disputes that the welfare and prosperity of the whole nation depends on the speed and efforts of the dockworkers, and on the efficiency with which the labour force is deployed and used. What has not been brought home to most of the general public is that dockers are also entitled to have their prosperity and welfare considered. In assessing the value of the docks the British people must surely ask: should not those who work in them receive wages and conditions commensurate with their value to the nation?

In the main, dockworkers comprise four groups; dockers, stevedores, tally clerks and lightermen. When employed, each follows

*Mr. Lindley, as many of our readers will know, is General Secretary of the Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union.

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his trade; but when 'unemployed' they are covered by one common factor which regularises their conditions: the Dock Labour Scheme. All, therefore, feel equally the effect of clauses covering attendance money, 'fallback' guarantee payment and discipline.

How far have we achieved the object of decasualisation of dock-work? What does the word itself really mean in dock-land? To decasualise is to engage regularly and thereby provide security. In my opinion we, both employers and trade unions, have achieved neither of these things for the majority of our people.

It is true that approximately a third of the total labour force in London is engaged on a weekly basis; but this in itself is not security in any sense. These weekly men, should a recession in trade develop, would find themselves returned by their individual employers from the weekly register to the daily allocated pool. So their security lasts as long as the employers are able to gain the advantage of paying a lower rate of levy on the weekly men's earnings. Their security is no greater than that of the daily workers.

Look at the position of the daily allocated worker. It is accepted that an adequate and efficient labour force must be maintained, ready at all times and freely available, to deal expeditiously with dock work. This means that a trained labour force to cater for peak periods as well as slack times must be on hand. Unfortunately, under private enterprise slack periods are becoming ever more frequent. If you recruit a dock labour force able to cater for peak periods, then you must surely be prepared to look after that force during the slack times. Does the docker feel we are doing this? You cannot expect the men to look favourably on a scheme which provides a mere £7 8s. 6d. as a weekly wage when things are quiet, to qualify for which dockers must prove themselves available for work eleven times a week at the appropriate sector office. And out of this fabulous amount is stopped national insurance, income tax and 2s. 6d. pension contributions. Due to re-housing the majority of men today live away from their respective sector offices or call stands; but they must still attend the 'call' twice a day, at 7.45 a.m. and 12.45 p.m.; travelling expenses can be quite considerable. It is not the dockworker's fault that in order to live in a decent home he must move away from the docks—an increasing problem. One does not have to be a higher mathematician to calculate what a pittance the docker takes home to his wife each week when things are quiet. Three or four weeks at about £6 a week or less soon eats

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into what little money the dockworker may have put aside during the busy periods. How can we talk of security and decasualisation whilst such circumstances exist?

What has in fact been done is that the shipping interests have been guaranteed an efficient and adequate labour force, available for eleven turns a week; and the industry has taken over in return the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour for unemployment benefit.

What many people do not know is, that if a docker unfortunately has had a bad run of out of work and seeks National Assistance (which after all is not charity) he is soon told that he cannot get it as he is 'weekly employed' by the Dock Labour Board. What a weekly wage!—£6 a week or less for a grown man with family responsibilities. The facts prove that the casual nature of the dock industry is still with us when men earning reasonable wages one week can find themselves literally overnight taking home for weeks on end such a mere pittance as the 'fallback guarantee' represents.

The remedy is obvious, the weekly guarantee should be on a par with the basic rate which men receive when actually at work. It is not the fault of the docker that he is out of work. The average docker looks for work and wants work and it is morally degrading to have continually to attend sector offices day in and day out and find that you are not needed. This breeds despair and discontent and is one of the major sources of lack of trust often expressed in the workpeople's representatives on the Dock Labour Board, who, unfortunately, become quite wrongly a target of the men's dissatisfaction. Many I regret to say do not appreciate that the unions have not yet got control of the industry, but are acting at present in joint control, trying to service the nation on a basis of private enterprise—controlling the labour force, not the factors that provide work.

Only when the dockworker sees that he is being treated on the basis of some equality with other workers in other major industries will his old traditional suspicions and fears be allayed. The provision of an adequate living wage whether the port is busy or not is the fundamental answer to this problem. To those who argue that this would be expensive, let me reply that in removing these fears you also remove the underlying cause of the paralysing unofficial strikes whose cost has been incalculable, both to the nation and to the dockers themselves. Until the men are guaranteed their basic rate each week then we have not decasualised the industry by any means and neither will we get peace in the docks.

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The other aspect of the major object of the Scheme is that the labour force must not only be adequate but also efficient. Now this brings the Scheme dangerously near, and almost into, the field of industrial relations; this was something which it was always its architect's intention to avoid. Nevertheless, it is a fact that must be faced. At present the Board's activities have been restricted, in this respect quite rightly, to that of providing training in dockwork for new recruits to the industry. Real efficiency goes beyond merely training new entrants. How can one possibly consider efficiency without taking into account improved methods of handling and transporting all cargoes by advanced modern techniques, such as high-powered grain hoppers, stacker trucks and mobile cranes. Technological progress has made it possible to handle greater variety of cargoes in bulk such as groundnuts, copra, cement and, of course, sugar. In addition to this we have the introduction of handling general goods by a method of (perish the phrase!) 'pallatisation'. These new methods have been slowly introduced into the docks and the unions rightly or wrongly have not been prepared to accept them with open arms. Not because the unions do not believe in modern techniques. No one, least of all the unions, disputes that there is ample room for further improvement in the method of discharge and consequential quicker turn round of ships. What the unions want before the full steam ahead is given is a guarantee that the benefits from such improvement will be passed on to the dockworker and the nation as a whole, not used merely to reduce the labour force and increase profits and dividends.

There are improvements that can be made in other fields, as well as the handling of cargoes. New bigger and faster locks should be built; subways should replace swing or lifting bridges; new quays with a greater depth of water; and a far better use could be made of the existing valuable barge fleet, which is an essential lighterage service always available to London. These matters are largely in the control of the Port of London Authority, but there have been no major new constructions in the docks for years.

This brings me to the crucial point. It is my firm conviction that the dockworkers of this country and the nation itself will not get the benefits they are entitled to expect from the port transport industry until the whole of it is co-ordinated with the road, rail and water systems under a nationalised transport system. Only then will the docker and allied workers enjoy the real benefits of decasualisation. Only then will the full advantages of an improved efficient

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transport system be passed on to the workers and public in general. Wasteful competition between the three systems would be eliminated; each would service and carry the goods that it was best suited for. Dockworkers would get security, and be assured that any new method of working was not being introduced to lower their standard of living, but to improve it. Any displacement of labour would take place on a planned basis, allowing for natural wastage and when the opportunity afforded it. The speed-up of new methods would bring a shorter working week without reduction of pay. We —and I now speak as a dockworker—should look upon the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, as the stepping stone to greater things—as the moderate social reform it really is. We must continue our efforts to improve on it and embody within it the old socialist ideas that prompted its birth. Above all it must not become an instrument of the employers. Neither must they be allowed to destroy it; for it is the foundation stone on which we must build.

In conclusion, may I say that there is far more to dock problems than I have written down; I would require far more space to put the whole picture before our fellow trade unionists. But one final word. Dockwork is by and large a job followed by father and son, especially in my own section, lighterage. The workers we represent today are sons of the grand old pioneers who fought for our movement. Engrained in their character is the traditional fighting spirit of their forebears. Only we who were born of them and live and work with them understand their ways and outlook. People who talk of turfing the workpeople's representatives off the National Local Dock Labour Board would do well to remember this. The Inquiry that is shortly to take place into the workings of the Dock Labour Scheme is one that has been brought about by the continued agitation of the large employers' organisations, mainly concerned with business outside the docks; not many of them are dock employers. But let there be no illusions about this; the dockers of this country will not tolerate for one moment a position whereby they would have to accept the terms of the present Dock Labour Scheme run and controlled solely by employers.

There has not been an official national dock strike in this country since 1926, but the employers would do well to heed this warning. Nothing in my opinion is more certain to bring about an official dock strike, of national magnitude, than unwarranted interference, either by employers or government, with the clauses which guarantee workpeoples' representation on the national and local boards.

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CONFERENCES: NEXT ROUND

George Bridges

THE third and last round of conferences before the Trades Union Congress meets in early September is upon us this month. Opening with the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in the third week of June, it will be completed in mid-July with the Transport and General Workers' Union, the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Railwaymen. These three represent over 2,061,000 members. Since Peter Kerrigan surveyed the first round in 'The Easter Conferences' (May *Labour Monthly*) there were many others up to mid-June.

Taken as a whole, this second round of conferences showed setbacks for the unilateral decisions of Scarborough, but also defeats for the defenders of the Tory-U.S.-Nato-Adenauer policy of bases in Britain for Panzers and Polaris. They showed rising class militancy in the battle for higher wages and shorter hours and against the social and economic policy of the Tory Government.

Amongst decisions for substantial pay claims were those of the Scottish and Welsh miners; the boilermakers, constructional men, vehicle builders, foundrymen and engineers; most of the building unions; and others, including furniture, fire brigade, locomotive men, public employees, civil service, post office engineers and teachers. The debates on wages showed a fighting spirit, influenced by the class budget of the Tory Government, take-over bids, rising cost of living, and record profits recently announced. Of key importance is the repeated demand from many delegates for vigorous campaigning to lift the wage fight out of the rut of lengthy negotiations.

The achievement in several industries of the 42-hour week has spurred on many unions to move forward on the traditional demand for the 40-hour week. This was demanded at the conferences by municipal and general workers, building workers, engineers, insurance men, civil service and clerical workers among others. The bitter fact that the further one gets away from oil, dirt, humping and the use of tools the longer is the annual holiday, brought renewed demands for three weeks paid holiday from builders, engineers, municipal and general workers and others.

Social issues got attention at most conferences with all-round condemnation of the health service charges and the education and housing policy of the Government. The National Federation of Old

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Age Pensioners demanded £4 per person basic old age pension without means test, and announced mass rallies in Wales and London for the autumn. This will give opportunity to show public support by members of those unions recently on record for the pensioners' demands, including engineers, vehicle builders, furniture workers, Scottish miners and boilermakers. The fight for safety at work in modern conditions was reflected in serious debates; the miners of Scotland and Wales, foundrymen, shipyard workers, firemen and bank employees all passed resolutions. The problem was spotlighted in the figure of £500,000 compensation for accidents won in a single year by a union with 26,000 members, quoted at the Constructional Engineering Union conference.

The demand for nationalisation is encouragingly on the upswing. The Scottish Trades Union Congress, vehicle builders, foundry workers, constructional engineers, building trade workers and boilermakers debated and passed resolutions for extending it. Trade union unity, amalgamation and membership were problems again dealt with, but not boldly tackled. It is a sobering thought that of seven and a half million women at work in Britain, only one and a half million are in the unions. A renewed movement for equal pay for equal work demanded by the General and Municipal Workers as well as by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, shows the way to spread trade unionism amongst women. Some important items were either deferred, remitted or not reached—notably the fight against bans and proscriptions in the movement. Delegates need to insist on this coming before the conferences for public debate.

The movement's attitude to the Tory and right-wing drive to yield to United States pressure and get Britain into the Common Market was largely dodged. The issue came up, was aired and then shelved at only two conferences—the builders and boilermakers. By and large, the unions maintained their attitude of friendly encouragement to the fight for colonial self-determination and against racial discrimination. For several leaders it was their last union conference. The greatest of them, Abe Moffat, played a vigorous rôle at the conference of the Scottish miners, who gave him a send-off that will never be given to the Knights of Labour.

In this second round of conferences the noble words 'unity' and 'loyalty to labour', discussed in the June 'Notes of the Month' were again prostituted in the onslaught to reverse the Scarborough decisions on Labour's nuclear policy. The pattern was in general the same as at the engineer's National Committee, described last month

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by 'A Delegate'. There was all the time the platform wanted for oratory and demogogy, but the elected delegates were made to stick to the few minutes allowed by standing orders. Long speeches by M.P.s who have 'gone over'—some of the conferences were graced by the Leader himself—and all the pomposity of the big boys. A few 'new' arguments were put over: 'The movement is bored with discussions on defence,' said Sir Tom Williamson of the General and Municipal Workers. 'Better stick to bread and butter issues,' pleaded a vehicle builders official. 'Russia is ready to attack us,' confided others. Not all leaders resorted to right-wing demogogy, of course; and not all conferences were deceived. The Scottish miners, the firemen, the painters, the constructional engineers, the boilermakers, the scientific workers, chemical workers and supervisory staffs were amongst those who stood firmly by 1960 Scarborough. Even at those which reversed previous decisions supporting the unilateral point of view the same delegates called 'Out with Polaris!' or 'Out with German Panzers!' Resolutions to this effect were passed not only by the engineers but also by the foundrymen, vehicle builders, furniture workers, shop and distributive workers.

There is a majority in the trade union movement against Polaris bases and the entry of German troops into Britain, both inherent in Nato. Only where the right-wing had preponderance of voting strength along with complete platform control did they dare oppose rejection of United States and German bases. The indications however, are that some will now try to interpret conference votes to defend Nato in its entirety at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference. It would be fatal were these trade union conferences to be seen as the end of the fight. The tide of battle for a genuine peace policy will rise, rise and rise higher yet.

FUEL POLICY MADNESS

Mick McGahey

OVER the past few years the miners' union has stressed the need for a national fuel policy to co-ordinate the production and use of coal, gas, electricity and atomic energy, whilst recognising the need to supplement these fuels with oil, more especially in a developing economy and an expanding fuel market. Such a policy is needed to ensure that coal, the only fuel raw material we possess in

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Britain, can get its proper share in the economy. This policy was endorsed by the 1959 Trades Union Congress and by the Labour Party in 1959; various delegations have urged it upon Government ministries.

The complete failure of present methods of supplying fuel needs is shown in the policy adopted since the recession of 1957, when the Government instructed the National Coal Board to cut back coal production. Since then we have seen it slashed by 33 million tons, 136 collieries closed down and 130,000 men lost to the industry. In Scotland, one of the worst hit areas, forty collieries were closed and 17,000 men left the pits.

Why this destruction of our only natural raw material through closures, depriving Britain of highly skilled men who can never be replaced by the simple method of recruitment? The answer, of course, lies in the manner in which the Government has encouraged the substitution of oil as against coal. The miners have never opposed the use of oil where it was needed; from the end of the second world war up to 1956, all estimates indicated that oil would be used to supplement home-produced fuels. But the Tories, in the interest of the oil monopolies, have now adopted a policy of moving oil into the coal market, to the detriment of the whole economy. Whilst coal production has been reduced through Government policy, during the past three years oil consumption has increased from the equivalent of 37 million tons of coal to 60 millions; of this the consumption of fuel oil, which directly competes with coal, has increased from the equivalent of 11·8 million tons to 23·5 million tons in the last three years—no less than 110 per cent. Here lies the reason for all the government clap-trap about the consumer's freedom of choice. It is a case of the sacrifice of the interests of the economy to the coffers of the oil barons. It would lead to even further pit closures and undermining of confidence in this basic industry. Even today we find that 50 per cent of men leaving the pits are under 31 years of age: the very cream of the manpower is being driven out for lack of security.

But if we look at this question only from the standpoint of the coal industry, and what it means for the mining community, we miss the very essence of Tory policy and its effect on the whole economy of Britain. Their policy is aimed first and foremost at maximum profits for a handful of very rich monopolists.

Take the year 1959. Then it cost £467 million to import oil into Britain and after allowing for oil exports to the equivalent of £101 million, this left a balance of £366 million. But as against this adverse balance of the difference between exports and imports of oil tonnage, there is to be set the item of oil profits. This 'invisible' item is far greater (it was nearly £430 million) and has a far more important effect, because it strengthens the economic grip of imperialism upon the countries within the Commonwealth (whether politically independent or not) and upon the countries outside it.

If, however, we look at it from the standpoint of the masses and not of the millionaires, we find under these

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conditions oil imports are very costly and an unnecessary burden on the British people—not to speak of the cost of military expenditure overseas for maintaining oil resources in foreign countries. Every ton of oil imported into this country adds to the burden. In these circumstances it is economic suicide to destroy our only national asset for light, heat and power, and place Britain in dangerous dependence on imported fuel. (Remember how they used this to justify Suez aggression!) The British capitalists and the Tory Government for long refused to protect coal by a duty on imported oil. The West German Government on the other hand put on a duty of £2 12s. per ton on imported fuel oil. In each case the reason was greed for profits: but in the particular case of West Germany, it paid the capitalists to keep the oil out; here it paid them to bring it in. The question remains: why should Britain become the dumping ground for oil residues?

There can be no valid technical argument for the use of oil as against coal. Even Tory Mr. Maudling had to admit in the House of Commons that there was no advantage cost in generating electricity from oil rather than from coal, in modern coal plants. The main reason for the use of oil was and is to suit the interests of the oil barons. Oil is a key factor in the exploitation of the peoples in the Middle East and elsewhere. It is also a key factor in the conditions of life of the British miners and the British working-class. What conclusions should be drawn, and what should be our policy? A few years ago at the time of the Abadan crisis when Persia planned to nationalise her oil, Herbert Morrison and the Labour Government backed up the

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interests of the oil companies—that was the time when Sam Watson said: 'Oil is our life-blood'. That was a wrong policy. The correct policy in relation to the struggle of the Middle East peoples is for the British workers, and the miners in particular, to back up the peoples against their exploiters, and to form a common front in the struggle against imperialism. The struggle for a sane and proper fuel policy is in the immediate and long-term interests of the British people.

THE HOUSING BILL FRAUD

Tom Vernon*

HOUSING scarcity is the obvious basis for inflated rents, so that any sign of a more energetic policy for alleviating it is bound to be of interest to all classes of tenant, quite independently of re-housing benefits.

Has such a sign been recently vouchsafed by the Tory Government? An impression that a great reversal of Tory housing policy was about to take place was certainly created by the White Paper 'Housing in England and Wales' published in February—amongst our wishful-thinking compatriots, anyhow. Introducing the subsequent Housing Bill to implement the White Paper proposals, Mr. Henry Brooke spoke of its being 'a major Housing Bill' and one covering 'a wide range of matters on which fresh action is called for at this stage in post-war housing progress'. Action? Not meaning quite what it implies, as we shall see.

This White Paper made admissions about housing scarcity and unfitness in such staggering contrast to the invincible complacency conveyed by all Government spokesmen over recent years that an intention to put dynamism, in place of discouragement, into council housing operations seemed to be revealed. For these admissions were accompanied by acknowledgment of the indispensable role of the local councils in providing rented housing for those who cannot afford to buy or to pay 'economic rents'. We were being told, in fact, that the private landlord and the speculative builder are not, after all, the dependable saviours Mr. Brooke and Co. have for long been asserting. Some people escape their kind embraces. For example: the one-quarter of manual workers earning under £10 a week or the 58 per cent of male workers earning less than £15.

*As many of our readers will know, Tom Vernon is President of the National Association of Tenants and Residents.

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All this seemed, on the face of it, rather wonderful. Then, when we look closer, reality dispels optimism. There are no provisions in the Bill likely to make a ha'porth of difference to the scale of council housebuilding, except perhaps to depress it yet further. But increased housebuilding is not, in plain fact, the purpose of this Bill—all prior assumptions, notwithstanding. Its prime purpose is to insinuate into council housing finance a new system of *differential subsidies* to be operated through a test of financial need upon every council henceforth seeking subsidy assistance. This will stir many a council tenant into ironic laughter. . . . However, it is not really funny. The object is to reduce the subsidies payable on future houses, as the law now stands, wherever the test discloses that a council has *rent* resources large enough to replace—via rent rises—the income lost by a cut in subsidy.

The frank disclosures in the Write Paper of housing facts already known but never acknowledged, the Press gush, the Minister's proud demeanour as of one who's fathered promising triplets and not a vicious little rodent, the miscellany of unrelated things stuffed into the Bill to give it that 'major' look—all this is to cover over the mean trick on subsidies so that its ugliness is not clearly exposed. There has been pressure on the Government to abolish subsidies still being paid on council houses built from 1920 onwards. Mr. Brooke has spurned such an act of bad faith towards the local councils. Less crude than many, he goes some way towards doing the same thing by other means! The effect of the new device for determining whether a subsidy on future houses is to be £8 a year, or £24, aims to compel a diversion of existing subsidy income away from the 1920 and later houses and towards the income needed for future houses if their rents are not to be utterly prohibitive. Hence, less for the Exchequer to pay.

About half the councils in England and Wales are likely to be in the financially well-off group and entitled, accordingly, only to £8 a year State subsidy, until their future housebuilding has been enough to absorb that proportion of former subsidies which the Government wants diverted towards future housebuilding, so that taxpayers shall contribute less for some long period towards the cost of re-housing people from demolished slums. The condition of being financially well-off (according to Mr. Brooke's twisted notions) is one where rent *resources* are not yet fully exploited. In the Government's opinion a council's potential rent income is an amount equal to twice the 1956 gross rateable value of all the dwellings it owns.

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This, they say, is the level of rent income which local councils could, if they wished, obtain. So far as they are not fully exploiting this rent potential the Government's new subsidy system will pressurise them 'to pursue reasonable rent policies'.

Though that is described in such persuasive words, what will actually happen is the not unfamiliar process of getting more rent out of established tenants to meet inordinate costs in new houses not capable of being fully met from the biggest obtainable rents; especially as so much of the new housing will be needed to accommodate people, removed from slum properties, who have limited incomes.

Apart from other circumstances which will continue to be used as grounds for raising council rents, future housebuilding more than ever will bring about rent rises for established tenants in many local authority areas. This, in fact, is the only 'fresh action', of which Mr. Brooke spoke, that can be discovered as outcome of the Housing Bill, 1961.

Yet it need not be the outcome if local authorities, acting in association, went into revolt and point blank refused to part-subsidise clearing up private enterprise slums by soaking tenants earlier removed from similar slums, or re-housed on account of extreme housing need. Less still need it be the outcome if tenants manifest support for their councils in such action; and, where councils dumbly obey Tory Government orders, resist such councils' rent rises as they have so often done in the past.

The position in Scotland requires attention, too, and here there are circumstances which ought to be an inspiration to tenants, and their councils, south of the Border. The essence of the rents situation on many council estates in Scotland is conveyed in this unintended tribute from *The Economist* (April 29, 1961):

> . . . during ten years of Conservative government at the centre, the Labour Party in Scotland has contrived to put through a housing policy totally at variance not just with that of Tory councils but with Labour practice in the rest of Britain.

The public inquiry into 'the scandal' of Dunbarton County's rents, opened last January, showed that with an average rent of 2s. 10d. a week Dunbarton has the lowest in Scotland. This Council, in face of threats, then proposed an average of 7s. 5d., but the Secretary of State refuses to accept this as 'reasonable' and this has confirmed the apprehension that Mr. Brooke's Scottish counterpart is going to be tough, too.

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Average rents for all houses in the Scottish Counties is 8s. 3d., in the Cities 9s. 2d. and in the Burghs 9s. 6d. to 9s. 9d. Such figures contrast, for example, with average rents for all types of houses in Dagenham of 25s. 6d.

The proportion of cost met through rents for the whole of Scottish council houses is 31·5 per cent : in England and Wales :

> County Boroughs 69·6, Metropolitan Boroughs 55·1, London County Council 71·4, Boroughs 73, Urban Districts 72·4 and Rural Districts 72·7 per cent.

As a proportion of men's average weekly earnings, average weekly rents in Scotland are 3·3 per cent (7·2 per cent in 1938/39).

All these facts and many more, plus an easy-to-understand whole page diagram, are set out in significantly propaganda fashion in the Scottish Department of Health 1960 Report (Cmd. 1361). The implication is that council rents require attention. To indicate willingness on the part of the Secretary of State, a report is then made of his attack on Dunbarton County Council. Readers of this annual Report would recall the similar attack in 1958 on Glasgow Corporation.

On April 29 and *prior* to the above report (dated May 18), *The Economist* produced a long article with many of the above facts under the toothsome heading 'In most Scottish council houses, the telly costs more than the rent'. Here, it was opined that the Secretary of State is preparing a Bill like Mr. Brooke's to bring things into line with England and Wales and was exhorted 'to grasp the nettle of local authority rents'. No doubt he will. And no doubt he will find it painful. For tenants do not succumb easily in Scotland. The Dunbarton County Clerk told the Inquiry about repeated refusals by the Labour majority to raise rents. Tory motions to do so, any hint of disturbing rents, always evoked written protests, deputations, demonstrations and 'at least one of them involving people carrying banners and ringing hand bells'. Further, that such activities got their intended results.

What many of these Scottish local authorities have been doing is to follow a social policy on rents and not an accountancy policy. For them, the lowest possible rents has been the aim and not a correct balancing of the treasurer's housing revenue account.

Here is the clue to council rents policy. There is no factual answer to the question : What is a fair rent? Within the capitalist structure, council tenants have to keep rents as low as their organised strength and electoral influence permit. They cannot allow any academic,

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pseudo-statistical formula to determine how much of their wages can be taken for rent, for it would be arbitrary and inaccurate—and above all—incapable of reflecting any good social approach.

New storms are ahead for council tenants. They have to fight the new demands to escape yet new burdens and, most important, to force the local councils and the Government to face up to the problems and cease to dodge them through makeshift devices and by mulcting housewives.

BRAND X REFORMISM

Clemens Dutt

MR. RAYMOND WILLIAMS is one of the 'New Thinkers' associated with such publications as *Universities and Left Review, New Left Review,* etc. He is now being widely acclaimed in the capitalist press, which finds his essays on culture profound, if not very intelligible, but at any rate imbued with a general 'reasonable' tendency that makes his brand of reformism more acceptable to capitalism than that of the Fabians or Stracheys. A Workers Education Association lecturer, he is now being rewarded by a lectureship at Cambridge. It is in this context that it is desirable to see what he has to offer.

He has written a book* which is a continuation of his work *Culture and Society;* its first two sections are devoted to such cultural subjects as education, the reading public and the press, the drama and the novel, etc., on which it is only too easy to write any amount of generalities. But the character of the book is stamped by the third section, entitled 'Britain in the 1960's', which deals with the present situation as a whole in relation to culture. Here the profound sounding verbiage (he calls it 'methods of analysis which . . . can articulate actual structures of feeling—the meanings and values which are lived in works and relationships—and clarify the processes of historical development through which these structures form and change') has to come down to more mundane things. He starts off with the statement that there is 'substantial truth' in the view that in Britain

> the democratic process has been essentially completed . . . with the class system apparently breaking up.

**The Long Revolution,* by Raymond Williams. Chatto & Windus. 370 pp. 30s.

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This continuous process of improvement is indeed the essence of what he calls the 'long revolution', a revolution which is supposed to have been going on for a couple of centuries and will continue to go slowly forward, presumably with freedom broadening from precedent to precedent, until in the fullness of time a true and perfect democracy will emerge and the last traces of 'social poverty' will disappear.

Will this be socialism? Apparently not, for although he boldly dismisses capitalism as 'a particular and temporary system of organising the industrial process', his strictures of socialism are emphatic. General descriptions of the social scene, he says, leave an uncertainty which is

> certainly not redeemed by such general nostrums as the fight for socialism.

Or again:

> the main challenge to capitalism was socialism, but this has almost lost any contemporary meaning.

So his profound analysis culminates in the commonplace Tory propaganda that

> little is to be gained by substituting a series of still largely authoritarian state monopolies for a series of private monopolies.

Of course there is no word about the class struggle but there is quite a lot of pontification about class, described as a 'confused reference', in which he tells us that 'we are still in a state of transition from a social stratification based on birth to one based on money and actual position' that 'it is less the injustice of the British class system than its stupidity that really strikes one'; and that 'we could stop the irrelevant discussion of class, of which most people are truly sick and tired, and let through the more interesting discussion of human differences, between real people'. His advice is: stop talking about the working class because you will be blamed for telling people they belong to it, or as he puts it:

> I have the impression that when socialists speak now of the working class, they attract to themselves natural resentments against the whole idea of class and inferiority.

Mr. Williams has some positive proposals to put forward. One of these is two-year elections to the House of Commons which, he says, would be 'a substantial but reasonable gain'. The others relate only to the field of culture, *e.g.*, in regard to the theatre, cinema, bookshops and the press. Here, he suggests, 'when the producers cannot themselves own the means of their work, these must be owned by the community in trust for the producers, and an administration set up which is capable of maintaining this trust'. Nothing

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here about the dangers of bureaucratic control. How revolutionary he can be in the abstract can be judged from his proposal that, instead of the £400 millions spent annual on capitalist advertising, 'could we not have a public research and information service? . . . This can be done on the present expenditure on the antiquated system of advertising'. Presumably the capitalists will be persuaded to surrender their £400 millions to this service.

What does all this amount to? The author winds up by saying that the most important thing he has to offer is the 'sense of the process, what I have called the long revolution', and that 'the nature of the process indicates a perhaps unusual revolutionary activity, open discussion, extending relationships, the practical shaping of institutions'? It is indeed an unusual revolutionary activity. It is a reformism that has not even the merits of the old Fabian gradualism. It is a super-gradualism that even rejects socialism and adopts instead a trivial, petty bourgeois liberal's view of reasonable and practical possibilities combined with vague utopian proposals for freeing culture from dependence on capitalism without fighting capitalism itself.

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MYSELF WHEN YOUNG

John Berger

I THINK I was fifteen when I first discovered *Labour Monthly*. I bought my first number in a small bookshop near the station at Oxford. I was at school in Oxford. I also bought at the same time a red metal star with a hammer and sickle in the middle of it to wear in the buttonhole of my schoolboy's jacket. I had just read Hewlett Johnson's 'The Socialist Sixth of the World'. (Sixth! And it was not so long ago for I am still quite young.) I was a flamboyant impatient rebel. I was in revolt against Caesar, whose histories I had to read, the school chaplain, the school barber who cut my hair too short, middle-class philistinism that had no time for poetry and art, the Officers' Training Corps. I knew nothing about the labour movement. I used the word 'exploitation', but I hadn't the slightest idea what one day's work in a factory meant.

Labour Monthly was unlike anything else I had ever read. I can see myself now reading it in bed. It was sober yet at the same time exciting. It spoke with authority and yet was opposed to all the authority which I had come to hate. I knew that I ought to learn my arguments from it. It explained and wrote out rationally what I incoherently felt in my raging, circumscribed, adolescent heart. Before I fell asleep I used to feel that I understood the world. R.P.D. was the only teacher to whom I was prepared to listen. By the morning I was my usual self—snatching at the obvious and immediate, disregarding perspective and dismissing class inheritance as a detail. However, I went on buying *L.M.* and gradually I began to learn. I ceased to be an owl, blind by daylight. My own experiences taught me. The army taught me. The news from the world taught me. And what I learnt confirmed my faith in my first political teacher.

Years passed. The crimes against man continued. I learnt more. I came to realise that revolt by itself meant nothing. I also discovered something else of which I was ignorant before. I had always thought that I would find other journals like *Labour Monthly*. Because I had come across it so easily I had not appreciated how rare its qualities were. Now I discovered that it was unique in the English-speaking world. I began to tell people everywhere that they must buy it—in Australia, in India, in Ireland.

A few more years passed. I began writing in journals myself. Editors sought me out. Then, not very long ago, the editor of

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Labour Monthly asked me if I would write a short article. Again I remember it vividly—the conversation over the telephone, the rather authoritative Scots voice at the other end. And I wrote it, the old pupil in me trying to become the new teacher. Since then I have written a few other pieces. When one is printed I am always proud in a way that never happens when other papers publish my work. This is not flannel. I mean it. And I think I can even explain why. Much of what a writer writes is forgotten a few years after he has written it. But he is bound to be aware of the possibility that some of what he has written may be referred to again, may stay relevant. When something he has written is published he feels that the article, the story, the argument, has been given to the publication for safe keeping. Here I become proud. I am proud that the finest British working-class journal should keep some of my work.

All this personal preamble is so that you should understand the degree of feeling with which I send you anniversary congratulations and my vast hopes for your future. You will have that future because you are so urgently needed. Other readers and comrades will mention the many qualities of *Labour Monthly*. I want to single out one. It is your intelligence. *Labour Monthly* is the most intelligent journal I have come across written in English. This intelligence, however, is of a new kind. It has little to do with university degrees and nothing to do with intellectual smart talk. It has been created by experience, and has been toughened by having to face thousands of immediate practical problems. It is given wings by hope and a passionate love of justice. It is the intelligence by which the working class becomes self-conscious. It is the intelligence by which the confidence tricks of our rulers and their side-kicks are at last seen for what they are. It is the intelligence that can use its hands. It is the intelligence that shares. It is the intelligence that can foresee and make the intelligent future of man.

FROM 'THE CLARION' ONWARD

Hannen Swaffer

IN expressing my congratulations on your having survived four decades of struggle for the underprivileged, I would like to remind your readers that the six years of the Welfare State Government would never have been possible without the labours of count-

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less Socialists of all classes and creeds from Bishop Gore and Archbishop Temple, William Morris and Robert Owen, Keir Hardie and Robert Blatchford, to thousands of humble toiling men and women in the back streets.

In my youth, when I became a Socialist because I bought a penny copy of 'Merrie England', it was *The Clarion* that was our Bible, the gospel of a political religion. Since then, several weeklies and monthlies have, to some degree taken its place, yours among them.

I recall the excitement in my early manhood, with which I heard Shaw and Hyndman, Snowden and Hardie, Ben Tillett and Will Crooks, and many foreign rebels against the existing order, including Prince Kropotkin, who had escaped from Siberia. Those were indeed thrilling times.

Gone, because of all that ceaseless agitation, are most of the evils of the 90's, when a man thrown out of employment had to turn for the only relief for his family, to the dreaded Poor Law, the soup-kitchen or charity. Then half the population lived in daily fear of the sack. A bad corn on the toe—there were no foot clinics—often meant dismissal. Much has been achieved since then, thanks to the pioneers, but there remains even more to do!

The movement needs fresh inspiration, rededication to the higher purpose. To get something, we must first be worthy of it. I look to *Labour Monthly* as one of the means by which more determined efforts will be brought about. Because of that I wish it another four decades of youthful enthusiasm.

GREETINGS

1. *From Friends Overseas*

HERBERT APTHEKER, Editor of Political Affairs:

The organ of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, *Political Affairs*, rejoices to be able to congratulate *Labour Monthly* for having completed forty years of sterling service to the working class of Great Britain and their brothers and sisters throughout the world. In the past forty years no publication has done more in the battle against colonialism, racism, militarism, fascism and war. For progressive-minded people in the United States, sharing a common language with our British comrades, its

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impact month after month for these forty years has been especially direct and illuminating. No world period in history has been sc consequential as these past forty years; *Labour Monthly,* in analys ing this brilliantly, simultaneously has helped make that history.

J. BERLIOZ, Editor of 'Democratie Nouvelle', France :

As you prepare to celebrate the 40th Anniversary of publication, I shall celebrate with you, not least because I have been a reader of the journal since its birth. For me it has always been invaluable in my work, especially since I have been in charge of *Democratie Nouvelle.* I find here a profound analysis in the light of the enrich- ment that Marxism brings from a wide range of contributors—an analysis of the general situation in Britain, of the activities of British imperialism, of the disastrous policies of the right-wing leaders, of the workers' struggles. Above all, I find the Editorial Notes never fail to clarify national and international problems. I read them with so much pleasure that I frequently reprint some of the finest passages in our monthly 'Review of Reviews'. I rejoice at the ever-growing following which *Labour Monthly* has won and sincerely wish you ever greater success.

TIM BUCK, Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada :

I have read *Labour Monthly,* and modestly participated in writing for it, over these 40 years, and I find it hard to describe in words my feelings of admiration and gratitude to you, Comrade Editor, and to my old friend Page Arnot, for the contributions you have made to our world movement in the pages of the magazine. Each month, for four decades, the *Labour Monthly* has been for its readers a sharp dissecting instrument to lay bare the contradictions of im- perialism, and a moral, intellectual and political weapon in the struggle for a better life. More power to your pens, dear comrades! I only wish I were with you to celebrate this great event.

Dr. Y. M. DADOO, African National Congress, South Africa :

Labour Monthly deserves the heartiest congratulations of all the progressive and national liberating forces in the world working for the maintenance of peace, the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism, and for the establishment of socialist society ending the exploitation of man by man for ever. Many of us have always looked forward with keen anticipation to the 'Notes of the Month', although *Labour Monthly* is banned in South Africa and it is there-

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fore not easy to lay one's hands on a copy. We in Africa have particular reason to be grateful to it and to its founder and editor, Rajani Palme Dutt, not only a clear and brilliant writer, but also one of the greatest dialectical thinkers of our time. *Labour Monthly* has proved itself to be a staunch and steadfast friend and ally of the African people, from Algiers to the Union of South Africa, and from Guinea to Zanzibar, in their hard and bitter struggle against colonialism, racialism and imperialism and for independence and freedom.

AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India :

On behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India I send the warmest fraternal greetings to *Labour Monthly* on its fortieth anniversary. It is a remarkable achievement that for full four decades, overcoming a thousand obstacles, this great Marxist monthly has been regularly published, fearlessly espousing the cause of the working class and the oppressed people throughout the world. For us in India *Labour Monthly* has been of invaluable help not only by its illuminating analysis of the world scene but equally through its consistent support to the cause of our national independence and advance. On this happy occasion it gives us particular pleasure to greet our dear Comrade, Rajani Palme Dutt, whose 'Notes of the Month' and brilliant books on India have helped to rear a whole generation of Marxists in our country. The initials 'R.P.D.' have become a legend in thousands of Indian homes, and it is on their behalf that we send him our grateful congratulations. We wish *Labour Monthly* and all those who work in it many, many more years of fruitful service in the great cause of peace, freedom and socialism.

Professor JURGEN KUCZYNSKI, Berlin University :

Congratulations! May you and all the friends on the editorial board continue in good health to do the most important work for peace and socialism which you started 40 years ago. My comradely love to you all.

OTTO KUUSINEN, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union :

I have sincere pleasure in greeting you on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of *Labour Monthly,* militant

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organ of the British working people. Throughout its forty years of work it has been imbued with the idea of working class unity and worked to rally all sections of the working class movement. The fact that the contributors to your magazine include people of various convictions belonging to different parties is convincing proof that it is possible and urgently necessary to have a wide exchange of opinion on the basic problems of the present day among representatives of the different trends in the working class movement. Soviet readers highly value its consistent and tireless struggle for the triumph of peace and friendship among peoples. I wish you, dear comrades, continued success in your effort to carry to the masses the idea of unity among all sections of the working class in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

LIU NING-YI, President of the All China Federation of Trade Unions:

On the happy occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of *Labour Monthly* I extend my fraternal and warm greetings. For the past forty years *Labour Monthly,* having inherited the brilliant traditions of the British workers' movement, has made useful contributions in protecting the living interests and democratic freedom of the British working class and working people, in promoting the unity between the British and international workers' movements, in enhancing the friendship between the Chinese and British people, in supporting the liberation movements of the oppressed nations and in defending world peace. It shows that *Labour Monthly* really is their own mouthpiece for the working class and working people. I hope that *Labour Monthly* will, in future, contribute further new successes to the cause of defending world peace and winning national independence, democracy and socialism.

MAURICE THOREZ, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France:

Warm congratulations and fraternal greetings from the French Communists to *Labour Monthly* and its editors who have brought it out for forty years, Comrades R. Palme Dutt, eminent fighter of the British and international working class movement, and R. Page Arnot. *Labour Monthly* has won an important place both in Great Britain and in many other countries of the world. It owes its prestige to its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, to its fight for the interests of the working class, for peace and against colonialism.

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From its earliest days your magazine has courageously taken its stand on behalf of proletarian internationalism and in particular in support of the Soviet Revolution. It has also contributed to the great struggle of the international working class movement for socialism, which is the decisive factor of our epoch. On this 40th anniversary, workers and all democrats in France wish *Labour Monthly* and the British working class further great success.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, Editor of Rinascita, Italy:

We send you and the Editorial Board the most lively fraternal greetings and best wishes for the lasting success of your very important publication. During this anniversary we shall celebrate with you not merely forty years of existence, but above all the scientific discipline, the continual firm grasp on reality, the capacity for searching and profound analysis which have always characterised your journal. Thus it is that you have won many friends beyond the frontiers of Great Britain. Amongst these friends of *Labour Monthly* I am happy to be able to count myself.

V. G. WILCOX, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand:

Felicitations on forty years continuous publication, a great event in Marxist history.

2. *From Friends in Britain*

JOHN BAIRD, M.P.:

You and I have disagreed on many occasions, but I am writing this to congratulate you on your 40th anniversary. *Labour Monthly* was one of the first Marxist journals I read, and I am glad to think that it influenced me in my progress towards militant socialism. Long may you continue and may your paper broaden its scope as the years go by.

PERCY BELCHER, General Secretary, The Tobacco Workers' Union:

Congratulations and best wishes. May it continue to expand and find new adherents, for undoubtedly it is doing a grand job of work in keeping activists in our movement aware of international issues and is worthy of the support of all serious minded trade unionists.

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Professor J. D. BERNAL, F.R.S.:

I must be one of the small band who have read *Labour Monthly* —though not perhaps every number—since it first appeared. It has created and maintained my political consciousness over the whole period. I am sure the historians of the future will recognise it as the Political Register of the twentieth century. But, because the politics of today range far wider than ever before and penetrate more deeply into social causes, the *Labour Monthly* has had a proportionately greater effect not only in Britain but all over the world. Palme Dutt's 'Notes of the Month' have done more than chronicle and explain the vast events that our world has seen, they have in the truest Marxist sense also substantially helped to change it. In the light of this first lustre of *Labour Monthly* we may reasonably expect that before the next is out the peoples of the whole world will win through to the next stage of their development and will be able to build securely on the foundations which have been laid with such efforts in our troubled times.

FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.:

I am torn between two impulses. I believe in personal liberties too much to wish to give any appearance of endorsement of a Communist publication, but at the same time I should be dishonest if I did not acknowledge the great value of the many writings which have appeared in the *Labour Monthly* during the last forty years. I am thinking of articles which Shaw, Wells, Laski, Nehru, Kenyatta and many others have contributed. I congratulate you on the broad service which you have given over the years to the stimulation of socialist thinking.

Sir RICHARD COPPOCK, C.B.E., General Secretary, The National Federation of Building Trades Operatives:

I wish the *Labour Monthly* great success on its 40th birthday celebration. It has been a useful and scientific journal for many, many years and I have always been appreciative when your journal has accepted my contributions.

S. O. DAVIES, M.P.:

I doubt if I have missed a single issue of *Labour Monthly* in these forty years. I know the sacrifices that were incurred by a number of people working on it to keep the periodical going. I am not quite sure whether when it was born the long struggle then of

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the miners was the inspiration of the drive, the needed dynamic, that brought it into being; but I do remember the comfort, the inspiration it gave us, the sense of direction, notwithstanding how complicated and how complex the conflict was. It has a broad front, but never too broad to know the fundamentals it stood for. The direction it gave to the working-class, the inspiration it has been a thousand times to many of us involved in conflicts is not easily explained, nor easily understood. Long life to it. May it go from power to power and become a much greater force and still greater inspiration to the working-class movement.

MAURICE DOBB, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Economics, Cambridge :

For one who remembers the *Labour Monthly* from its first number it is a privilege to be included among old friends and contributors sending greetings to this unique journal on its fortieth anniversary. I daresay that others as well can bear witness to the excitement with which we thumbed those early numbers, which not only sounded a quite new and arresting note in the labour movement (if only by its lively internationalism), but also provided rare examples of typography much in advance of other journals of the time. (Its cartoons alone, reproduced from *Avanti, L'Ordine Nuovo, L'Humanité, Notenkraker,* etc., were worth the price.) It quickly became the recognised forum for the Left in the labour movement, whether in the Labour Party or the trade unions, while warning against the easy illusions then rife of what a Labour Government would achieve and popularising Marxism as an active, not a narrowly sectarian, creed. One need scarcely add that since then the *Labour Monthly* has established a world-wide reputation, alike for the consistency of its general line over the period, the exceptional quality of its editing and for its famous 'Notes of the Month' with their thoroughly distinctive note and style, incisive and polemical, and their essential topicality. May it have the many more and greater anniversaries that it richly deserves!

D. D. EVANS, General Secretary, South Wales Area, National Union of Mineworkers :

The South Wales Miners send warm fraternal greetings on your 40th birthday. No journal is held in higher esteem by the miners of this area. It continues to be our guide and inspiration on our path to peace and socialism. Long live *Labour Monthly*!

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MICHAEL FOOT, M.P.:

Good wishes for another forty years' life for *Labour Monthly*. Naturally I disagree with a great deal you say, but I think it is vital that the great argument about Socialism should be sustained. The list of your contributors over the past forty years shows that *Labour Monthly* has played a vital part in this work.

WILLIAM GALLACHER, President of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

My heart's warmest greetings and congratulations on 40 great years of an invaluable combination of theory and practice. Long live *Labour Monthly* and its editorial and administrative staff.

JOHN GOLLAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

Congratulations on your 40th anniversary. There is not a thinking man or woman in the British labour movement who is not in your debt. For forty years the *Labour Monthly* has been an organiser and guide. It has trained a generation of fighters for socialism and Marxism. You have made the 'Notes of the Month' something unique in political journalism. They have been a vivid and living commentary on the history of our times, a guide to action and a penetrating Marxist analysis of the social causes of these epoch-making decades. They have stood the test of time. If today great changes are taking place in the British labour movement no small part is due to your inspiring leadership. As always, the *Labour Monthly* has been a forum of progressive and left opinion in British labour. For your aim has been to make the incomparable mass strength of our movement effective by clarity of aim and devotion to the principle of socialist transformation. Never was this more necessary than today. No British journal has a higher international reputation and prestige, whether in the socialist world or in progressive circles of the capitalist world. And nowhere is this more the case than in the colonial countries now sweeping to freedom. For you, above all, have made their cause your own. For your forty years' history is inseparably united with the history of the end of colonialism. Peace and socialism have been your aims. How well you have fought for them. After forty years the dramatic change in the relation of world forces, the triumph of socialism is the justification of all for which you have struggled.

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C. DESMOND GREAVES, Editor of the Irish Democrat :

Greetings to the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the *Labour Monthly,* indisputably the leading socialist periodical in the English-speaking world. When many once famous names in the field of socialist journalism have vanished, its survival to a record age—almost a Methusalah—serves to remind us that adherence to principle, not shifting to the wind, is the means of preservation of the labour press. Of all the principles it has upheld, for which the peoples of all countries and not only those of these islands will be grateful, the cardinal one is opposition to imperialism. During the imperialist epoch, now closed in the east, but present in the west, that is the beginning and end of all wisdom.

TED HILL, General Secretary of the United Society of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers :

It is indeed a privilege and a pleasure to congratulate *Labour Monthly* on its 40 years of existence. All the organs, whether journals or newspapers, of the left have profound difficulties in carrying on from time to time. *Labour Monthly* has had its difficulties, trials and tribulations, like all the left-wing papers; but it has succeeded and I am sure it will go on for many, many years to come. I read it, month after month, year after year, recognising that some of the contributions to it are magnificent in every sense of the word; and it is a pity we have not got more organs of this character in our movement to carry on the great work of our great pioneers. I think it is doing a good job of work, and I sincerely hope it will go on from strength to strength and continue publication for the next 100 to 150 years.

ARTHUR HORNER :

Labour Monthly was the means of explaining the 'materialist conception of history' to scores of us who were searching for a different system from capitalism forty years ago. In the years between, the R.P.D. Notes have been of very great significance of events as they occur from time to time. 'Storming Heaven' in May and 'What is Unity?' in June rank amongst the best I have known. The articles by recognised experts on specific subjects have always been most helpful.

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The Very Reverend HEWLETT JOHNSON, D.D., D.Th., M.A., B.Sc., etc., Dean of Canterbury :

As a regular reader from its start, I eagerly seize this opportunity to congratulate its Editor and Staff for the high standard which it still maintains. Of all weekly or monthly journals, I look forward beyond any other to the appearance of *Labour Monthly*. May it long continue. There is big work for it yet to do.

Sir COMPTON MACKENZIE :

It is a remarkable achievement to have kept *Labour Monthly* alive and kicking for forty years. I send you warm wishes for a happy middle-age.

GEORGE MATTHEWS, Editor of the Daily Worker :

Like all other sensible people in the progressive movement we at the *Daily Worker*, occupied in the day-to-day work of producing six issues a week, sit down once a month with *Labour Monthly* for a considered look at where the world has been and where it is going. We feel a special debt of gratitude to *Labour Monthly* as one of the journals which created the possibilities for our own appearance 31 years ago. Ever since then our aims and fortunes have been closely bound together; and your Editor has been one of our frequent and valued contributors. Warmest greetings from all of us.

JOHN E. NEWTON, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers :

In the field of mass communication media at the present time there is a great need for publications to open their pages for what may be considered opposing points of view irrespective of their popular appeal. After 40 years of publication I sincerely hope that the *Labour Monthly* will continue to provide a venue for necessary legitimate expression of opinion which otherwise would have little opportunity of presentation.

WILL PAYNTER, Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers :

I started reading *Labour Monthly* immediately following the 1926 Miners' Strike and I have continued to do so. Without doubt the magazine has made a tremendous contribution, in the forty years of its existence, in creating a deeper understanding of the principles of socialism and in clarifying the issues involved in current events. It

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is accepted and studied as a socialist magazine in wide sections of the labour and trade union movement and is a positive force in the development of struggle on the major issues confronting the people.

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.:

Labour Monthly is, and has long been, distinguished for the educational value of its articles, for the correctness of its judgments on the issues of the day—issues which, in the period of the breakdown of capitalism, arise frequently and swiftly, generally in the form of acute crises, not easily understood without full Marxist analysis—and for its steady and consistent fight against colonialism in all its forms. The forty years of its life have seen well over 1,000,000,000 people, for whom it has fought consistently, achieve delivery from one kind or another of colonialism, and its fiftieth anniversary will presumably come after the last old style colony has gone (leaving no colonies on the earth, unless Britain has not by then quite escaped from the American yoke). It is not surprising that, in Britain, where the death rate of periodicals has been growing very fast, and almost every serious monthly of any colour has disappeared, the *Labour Monthly* still maintains and even improves its position. It owes its strength to its quality, and it owes much of its quality to its editor. His 'Notes of the Month', by themselves, are almost a contemporary political history.

Sir CHARLES SNOW:

It is a platitude to say that we ought to understand how the great and developing countries of the east are thinking. It is irresponsible for an intelligent western man not to try to do so. We cannot begin to understand them, without understanding the Marxist analysis. The best demonstration of the analytic tool that I know of in the English language is certainly the *Labour Monthly*. Its intellectual level has commanded respect for forty years, which is an astonishing record for any journal. I wish people of all political beliefs would study it, at this time of all times, when ignorance and misunderstanding are our worst enemies.

GEORGE THOMSON, Professor of Greek, University of Birmingham:

Having been a regular reader of *Labour Monthly* for nearly thirty years, I find it hard to believe that it had been in existence for ten

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years before that, and all under the same editor. Such an achievement is surely without parallel in the history of journalism. Your journal has provided us with an invaluable guide through the forty most eventful years in history. If we compare it with its contemporaries, we have a striking tribute to the truth of Marxism. Like thousands of others, I am deeply indebted to it.

FRATERNAL JOURNALS

Greetings have been received from Fraternal Journals in many parts of the world. These will be printed next month. They include: Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review); AUSTRALIA, The Tribune; AUSTRIA, Weg und Ziel; BULGARIA, Rabotnitchesko Delo; CANADA, Marxist Review; CHINA, People's Daily; FRANCE, Cahiers du Communisme; L'Humanité; La Pensee; GERMANY, Einheit; HUNGARY, Tarsadalmi Szemle; ISRAEL, Kol Haam; POLAND, Trybuna Ludu; RUMANIA, Scinteia; SOUTH AFRICA, The African Communist; UNITED STATES, Mainstream; Science and Society; SOVIET UNION, International Affairs; New Times; Pravda.

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

If I mention for your benefit at such a distance a few famous trade union names which you will know, you must picture too the L.M. staff all beaming, as you may imagine, at a remarkable cross-section of us British, including writers, scientists, painters, sculptors, doctors, composers, teachers, concert pianists—contributors, fund supporters and subscribers. Amongst them the salt of the earth and inspiration to the younger people, the old age pensioners. Retired? Not likely! One from Surrey reminded me of you yourself. He told me he gave out his first leaflets 63 years ago; as he signed our visitors' book he added with his own special twinkle: 'The movement keeps you alive, you know'. Certainly the party was very, very much alive. You can imagine the pleasure it was to introduce overseas visitors to the best in Britain. Amongst those I met myself were visitors from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, South Africa, Poland, Israel, Australia, Jamaica, British Guiana, St. Vincent, Bulgaria, India, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. After the toast was proposed and seconded the Editor replied; and then the two co-founders cut the superb cake presented by two readers in a Durham mining village. Wal Hannington found it impossible to read all the messages received and I had to promise to print them—some appear in this number. I doubt if anyone enjoyed themselves more than we who work on the magazine, meeting old friends for the first time whom we know so well by letter, just as we feel, F.G.A., we know you.

Why did everyone feel so good? Because of the sense of freedom and strength that comes when differences of opinion are surmounted and bans brushed aside; that's what unity is like in real life. A leading Labour man telling me how delighted he was to have come, exclaimed: 'Oh, it's like the old days!' But I think he is wrong: it is like the days that are to come.

Our very best wishes to you, F.G.A., and to all readers everywhere—and let there be many more readers, and many more years.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

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